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PROGRESS OF INDIA, JAPAN

AND

CHINA IN THE CENTURY

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BY

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PREFACE.

THIS work relates to two great Continents and one large group of Islands. Consequently it is divided into three Parts—namely, I., India; II., Japan; III., China. I have narrated in a succinct manner the progress during the nineteenth century of three peoples, the Indian with a population of about three hundred millions, the Japanese with a population of nearly forty-five millions, the Chinese with a population of over three hundred and fifty millions; or about seven hundred millions in all. Now if the usually accepted estimate of the population of all countries in the world put together—namely, fourteen hundred millions—approaches the truth, it follows that this work has to summarise the progress of half the human race for a century. The space of time, 1800 to 1899, has been borne in mind. The information in all cases has been brought up to date as nearly as possible, and in many cases up to the time of writing. Moreover these countries have during the century been the scenes of grave, and often complex, events. Each country, too, has undergone momentous changes. Thus the ground

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covered is most diverse, and the details are enormous. Consequently much allowance is claimable for the summary character of the narrative, the condensation of facts, the omission of many particulars which might have been useful had space permitted. Further, I have endeavoured to present these Eastern affairs in a popular form to Western people, possessed indeed of general culture, but not having previously any acquaintance with the East. At the same time the case must be so presented as to obtain the approval of those men who have such acquaintance. I have striven to give the reader some insight into the mind, the feelings and thoughts of the Oriental races of to-day.

In each of the three countries the progress has been of the most diverse nature. In India it has taken place after a conquest by the British, who established there an administration as elaborate as could be formed with all the means of Western civilisation; it must therefore be attributed to the conquerors. In Japan the progress was brought about by events from without, yet it was afterwards voluntarily undertaken by the Japanese, and is being carried out by themselves, with a suddenness and a rapidity of which history furnishes no example. In China a movement which perhaps had been beginning before 1830 has proceeded since 1830, that is, for seven out of the ten decades of the century, so disastrously that each decade has been but a landmark of progress in a fatal direction. Thus the country

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has been so reduced that no writer will venture to state more than this, that it exists up to the time of writing.

Consequently the arrangement of the subjects in the Chapters must differ essentially for each country, that is, for each Part. In one respect only has it been possible to preserve uniformity. Each Part begins with a brief Introduction or sketch of the land and the people. Then for each Part there follows a comparatively full description of the country and its inhabitants in 1800, which necessitates some slight historical retrospect. Lastly, each Part ends with a similar description of the conditions existing in 1899. But between the second and last Chapters in each Part, the subjects are different and so is their arrangement. In every one of the three countries the course of events has been essentially diverse. In India the century began with turmoil, bloodshed, confusion, dejection, which had long been going on. Promptly there came a conquest by the British, which ended in embracing the whole country. Then there followed an absolute Government by the conquerors, tempered by legislation and guided by the most enlightened principles. Indeed an administration has been set up, the finest and largest known to history. By the end of the century there was great progress of many sorts, though not all the progress that might have been hoped for. This progress, many-sided and pregnant with future changes, has been due mainly to the conquerors. A

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comparatively lesser share has been borne by the people. The outlook seems to be one of peaceful development for the immediate future at least. For Japan the century began with ease, quietude and splendour, after a long peace with unbroken prosperity, with a spirit of self-satisfaction among the people and of rigid exclusiveness as against foreigners. The Government was that of an Emperor nominally reigning in one capital, with a Feudal Head really governing in another. The awakening from this luxurious slumber began soon after 1840, with Europeans knocking at the gates for permission to trade. Just midway in the century the Feudal Head was obliged to sign various commercial treaties in the presence of European warships, and literally at the cannon's mouth. The people of all classes were indignant and in a semi-barbarous fashion vainly tried to expel the foreigners, but only met with defeat and armed retaliation. Thus foiled, they turned and rent their own rulers, abolishing the Feudal System and restoring the rule of the Emperor alone, which rule had existed before Feudalism was set up many centuries previously. The ablest men and the best classes, having had this experience of the European method, resolved to imitate it. So they reformed their forces by sea and land and set up a constitutional monarchy which has had a short trial, but as yet seems to be successful. Here, then, is a revolution, not in the government, but in the national policy, which, though owing its origin to

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external events, has yet been worked out by the people themselves. Thus, after an example unique in Asiatic history, Japan ends the century in patriotic hopefulness and buoyant aspirations. China began the century in the same way as Japan, amidst splendour, renown, glorious traditions, imperial prestige; with a similar self-complacency and exclusiveness towards foreigners. With her, too, the awakening began about the same time, but much more roughly. Before the middle of the century she had been beaten badly by Britain. Soon after that time she was beaten still worse owing to her disregard of commercial treaties. She suffered from internal disorders of the gravest kinds. Instead of being warned by these disasters she steadily set her face against putting her house in order. She, a very big nation, provoked a war with Japan, a little but well-prepared nation, and was disgracefully defeated. The peace negotiations which ensued had the effect of letting in all the great European Powers upon the Chinese Empire. The Imperial authority has been destroyed externally, and all men are wondering how long its internal vitality will last. Thus the century is ending for China in utter despair, owing to the fault of all classes from the Imperial Court downwards. So the close of the nineteenth century is viewed by the three countries with different feelings; by India with calm confidence, by Japan with ambitious patriotism, by China with blank hopelessness.

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For facility of reference it may be well to follow up this diversity in the Chapters of the several Parts.

In each Part, then, the divergence of arrangement begins after the second Chapter, that is, after the Introduction, and after the status of 1800.

For India, in Chapter III., the first matter is the formation of the Empire, that is, the advance of British conquest and power, till the entire country from sea to sea, from the border of Afghanistan to the border of China, is under British administration direct or under British suzerainty. Then follows, in Chapter IV., a sketch of the frontiers, which, though partly formed by the sea, do partly rest on the mountains. Indeed these land frontiers of India are geographically the most striking to be found anywhere on earth. For the vast territories thus combined in one Empire there follows an outline, in Chapters V. and VI., of the machinery of Government, Civil and Military, and, as arising out of the Military section, some account of the Mutinies in the Native army. After this account of the Empire, the territories, and the system of Government, there comes a statement, in Chapter VII., of the general principles of Imperial administration. A distinct point in the story of India is thus reached. There remains to be mentioned what is done by the State in each branch of national affairs, with this machinery of government and with these principles. Then the narrative groups itself, in Chapters VIII. to XIII., inclusive, into several headings. The first

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of these relates to legislation, to law and justice, as being the bases for what is done in all other branches. Of the great interests in the country the first is that concerning the land, the agriculture and the landed classes from the highest to the humblest; and in reference to agriculture, the canals of irrigation, the finest in the world, are noticed. After this, the trade, especially the ocean-borne commerce, and communications, including railways, are brought forward. The changes in Municipal Reform are then introduced, including Sanitation and Local Government in the newest and technical sense of these terms. Next comes State Education after the Western model, and the Public Instruction of various kinds, alsc the efforts put forth by the Missions of the several Christian churches and communities. The narrative concludes with a summary of the revenues and finances; and amongst the revenues is included some analysis of the vexed questions about opium. The Part is closed with a summary, in Chapter XIV., of the state of the country and the people in 1899. In the material section some allusion is made to the enormous growth of the population, and to the recuperative power shown by the people after famine and to their large exportation of produce. In the moral section the effect of the Western education upon religious belief is alluded to, as are also the prospects of the Christian Missions, the growth of the new Vedic and Brahmoist faiths, the continued prevalence of the ancient relig-

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ions, and the mental embarrassments of the educated men who reject each and all of these faiths. Lastly, analysis is afforded of the prevailing elements of Indian loyalty, acquiescence and contentment, over the unavoidable elements of disloyalty and discontent. Inasmuch as for Japan and China, the sovereigns are mentioned, so I have adduced the names of the illustrious line of Governors-General of India during the century, with a note of the great deeds of each.

Similarly in Part II. for Japan there is uniformity up to Chapter IV., that is, an Introduction is offered sketching the land and the people and a description of the status of 1800, with the Feudal System fully established and still flourishing, namely, the Feudal Head at his capital with his barons scattered all over the country. But in order to eludicate the status of 1800, it has been necessary to insert a brief Chapter, III., on the past of Roman Catholic Christianity in Japan under the Jesuits (including St. Francis Xavier), a story, which, if fully set forth, would prove to be one of the most romantic episodes in the history of Christendom. It is from Chapter IV. that a special arrangement begins. In that Chapter the working of the Feudal System is recounted from 1800 to 1853. Up to 1835 it ran a smooth course, many feudal classes liked its external splendour, the local barons ruled their fiefs with a certain sort of popularity. Despite their exclusiveness and self-isolation and the consequent want of foreign trade, the people were fairly prosperous, their famous art-

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industries were maintained, and their patriotism was still aglow, though their armament was antiquated and their arms rusty from long disuse. After 1840 a fluttering in their dovecot began till the middle of the century, when a hurricane set in. The next Chapter, V., then indicates step by step the fall of the Feudal System between 1853 and 1868. This, however, would have been delayed for some time if the Japanese had been more temperate in their behaviour. They had not then learned the wisdom they have subsequently evinced. They vainly imagined that they by valour and patriotism alone could resist Europeans. But on finding that Western discipline and science prevailed, they straightway adopted these things for their own country, and contented themselves with destroying the Feudal System and reverting to their ancient and still surviving tradition of Imperial Rule under their Emperor. So the next Chapter, VI., relates to the reign of the Emperor, who is still on the throne. Having restored their Emperor to his proper place, the Japanese decided that he must be a constitutional monarch, with a Diet, formed after the model of a European Parliament, and with a reformation of the army and navy after the European pattern. The value of the new forces by sea and land was very soon tested by the war with China, which made Japan feel herself to be a nation, newborn in power though antique in tradition. The concluding Chapter VII., on the status of 1899, adverts to the present temper and disposition of the Japan-

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ese, their religions, and the relation of the State to the prospects of the Christian Missions; to the national resources, the external trade, the civil administration, and the procedure of the Diet and Parliament so far as that can be understood after a brief experience and the neighbourly disquietude in regard to the tottering position of China.

For China again, Part III., at the outset the same arrangement is preserved up to Chapter III., that is an Introductory sketch of the land and the people is offered, and then some account of the status in 1800, when the Chinese Empire was apparently, though perhaps not really, at its zenith. At all events it was a stately, grandiose, towering, imposing structure, and no Chinaman dreamt of the shaking and the battering to which within forty years it was to be subjected. It is from Chapter III. that a special arrangement begins. That Chapter, together with Chapters IV., V., VI. and VII., relates to the reigns of the five Chinese Emperors during the nineteenth century, one after another in due succession, a Chapter being devoted to each Emperor. It was found that in this way only could the course of China by herself be traced—the inner workings of Imperial policy be discerned—the idiosyncrasies of the Court, the Emperor and his family be understood. The national system was such that even the ablest Emperor would not have been all-powerful for good—still he counted for much. And these Emperors, instead of bettering things, intensified the evils of their

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day, so far hastening the downfall of their Empire. It has often happened that historical works on China have quite naturally referred in the main to British trade-relations, British progress and prowess. Now with all deference to these considerations, of which indeed Britons may well be proud, the purpose of this work is to pourtray China as she has been and still is by herself, and to advert to foreign nations only so far as their conduct may have affected the condition of China. It is indeed the mad determination of the Chinese to shut their eyes to everything external and to look inwards only, their obstinate refusal after the most distressful experience, to improve themselves even at this eleventh hour, when the last sands from their hour-glass are falling, that reduce their best friends to despair.

Thus each one of the five reigns proves to be a step towards the brink of what looks like an abyss, and each step seems to be longer than the last in this fatal direction. In 1800 Chiaching, the successor of really great Emperors, was on the throne. Though he was relatively an inferior person, nothing happened except a general enfeeblement. In 1820 he was succeeded by his son Taokwang, a man of stronger character, in whose reign serious troubles began after the East India Company ceased to trade. These troubles ended in the first war with the British, the ratification of commercial treaties and the cession of Hong Kong. As Emperor he did what he could to make matters worse for his country. Internal dis-

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tractions occurred, and among them the famous Taiping rebellion took its rise; so he died unhappy in 1850. The son and successor Hsienfeng was a headstrong youth, somewhat inclined to dissipation. The Taiping rebellion grew under him in a manner that brought shame on all Chinese institutions. His lieutenants broke the commercial treaties so overtly, that an Anglo-French force landed and marched on his capital Peking, which he deserted and fled to the mountains where he died. His dynasty would have perished then and there had it not been for the resolution and ability of Prince Kung. He was succeeded by an infant son Tungchih, who attained his majority in 1874 and died in 1875. The regency had consisted of the two Dowager Empresses with Prince Kung, and they soon resumed their functions, for again an infant was chosen to succeed, namely Kwanghsu, who attained his majority in 1887 and is still reigning. The Taiping rebellion, after attaining dreadful dimensions, was stamped out, three other revolts were subdued, one of them after great slaughter, the Great Plateau including Mongolia which had long broken away from Chinese authority was reconquered; so China was still standing. Some of her friends hoped that she might yet rise again, after having suffered two wars with European Powers, overcome four rebellions, and reoccupied her upland dominions after long campaigns. But nothing would induce her to reconstitute, reorganise, rearm herself. Unconscious of her own unpreparedness, she needlessly provoked

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in 1894 a war with Japan that levelled her with the dust. This war and its consequences are described in Chapters VIII. and IX. It remained only to describe in Chapter X. the state of China in 1899. The principal points of the country are under the control of European Powers. The foreign trade is large and growing at all the commercial centres, still the foreign merchants are universally anxious lest the present Chinese Government should prove unable to protect the trade, lest such incapacity should cause a downfall, and lest such a downfall should throw China as a rich prey to be scrambled for by contending powers. As to the Chinese themselves, they have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. Though the best individuals among them are acutely anxious, yet the toiling millions seem amenable to no influence save that of the learned and bigoted class.

The recent progress of European relations with China and Japan has caused an expansion of the old Oriental terms. The East now seems in English to mean India and nothing further. The Far East apparently signifies Cochin China, China and Japan. The unique position of the United Kingdom in the East, and the fact of its having been among the first comers of importance in China, will afford it a vast advantage in regard to all disputed positions in the Far East.

For Part I. and the largest, namely India, I am myself the witness for a great part of the century. For Parts II. and III. I have consulted the best and

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newest authorities in England; and I gladly acknowledge my obligations to them. So the general correctness at least of these Parts may be depended upon. Though many points brought out in this work may be the result of recondite inquiry or prolonged experience, still as the purpose is a popular one, I have not cited any authorities comparatively inaccessible. But I have presented a list of books and publications, probably obtainable in any Oriental library, whereby most, if not all of the facts stated in this Volume can be easily verified. I also append a Chronological Table whereby the events of each year, for the three countries, India, Japan and China, can be simultaneously and synchronously perceived at a glance.

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PROGRESS OF INDIA, JAPAN AND CHINA IN THE CENTURY.

PART ONE.

INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

I AM about to trace succinctly the progress during the nineteenth century of the vast dominion now known as India. At the beginning of the century it often bore the title of the East Indies, as distinguished from the West Indies. But having grown to an importance enormously exceeding that of the West Indies, it acquired the name of India, by which it is still known both legally and officially. In 1877 the Queen of the United Kingdom was proclaimed Empress of India, which thus became an imperial dominion and is called in literature the Empire of India.

The area of this Empire may in some degree be diversely stated, according as certain dependencies

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be included or not. In general terms it comprises one million and three-quarters, perhaps nearly two millions, of square miles. The population, as ascertainable by census, is over 285 millions of souls. The next decennial census will be taken soon after the year 1900. Each previous census has shown such an increase in numbers for each decade that some similar result is expected in the coming census. Thus the population may be reasonably believed to stand at about 300 millions of souls, perhaps a little less or very possibly somewhat more.

With this area and this population of coloured races, the Empire is governed by an absolute despotism. In it is set up by the British a Government with a full and, humanly speaking, a perfect organisation in all respects. This Indian Government is controlled and sustained by the British Government in London. The governance is in all matters determined by laws passed under regular legislation, and is conducted throughout by legal process. Next after the Chinese Empire, the Indian Empire is the largest and the most populous dominion in the world. In respect to its vastness, to the homogeneous rule under which it exists, to its distance, more than five thousand miles from London, the centre of authority, by the shortest route, to the power on sea and land by which it is preserved,—there has nothing like it been seen in ancient or in modern history, or in any quarter of the globe.

The magnitude of the phenomenon can best be

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measured by some brief comparisons. The conquests of Alexander the Great were carried in nearly a straight line from Macedonia across Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan, through the passes into India, as far as the rivers Indus and Satlej. From this main line there were, so to speak, branches to northern Persia, to Mesopotamia, to Egypt. At the time of the conqueror's death, the area of his conquests and dominion was quite undeterminate; and it is doubtful whether he could have had as many subjects as the King-Emperor now has in India. The Roman Empire, at its height and breadth, comprised western, southern and south-eastern Europe, most of Asia Minor, Syria, parts of Persia, of Mesopotamia, of north-western Africa. The limits of that Empire were never determined, and were ever fluctuating. Many of the countries comprised in it were much more highly populated then than they are now. But it may be doubted whether any Roman Emperor had more subjects than the total of the Indian races who now own the sway of the King-Emperor. In the Macedonian and Roman Empires the authority exercised was casual and uncertain at many times and in many territories. Often it was ineffective, and in some regions almost nominal. In some places it extended but little beyond the reach of the camps and garrisons. But in the Indian Empire the wide-extending limits are securely set. Within them the authority is exercised without any exception in any quarter continuously and uninterruptedly, with system com-

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plete in all parts and with discipline unbroken. The old prediction that the day must come when not a shot should be fired in anger from one end of the Empire to the other, without the permission of the British Government, has in this generation been literally fulfilled. India used to be styled the bright jewel of the British Crown; but nowadays, from its size and importance, from its wealth and resources, it is, so to speak, an enormous diamond or emerald or ruby in the imperial diadem.

Without attempting any geographical description it may be well to sketch the main features of this great and wondrous land. The area may be likened to a mighty triangle extending from northern base to the apex in the south, from the 35th to the 8th degree of North latitude, and in its width from West to East from the 64th to the 98th degree of East longitude. Its northern extremity consists of the Himâlaya, the old Sanskrit word for "abode of snow," which is now called by Europeans "the Himalayas." This mountain range runs west, from the Indian Caucasus of classic times, in a south-easterly direction for about two thousand miles, with an average breadth of from 300 to 500 miles. It is the largest, the grandest, the loftiest mountain range yet discovered in the world. Its highest summits rise from 28,000 to near 29,000 feet above sea level. Along the base of the Himalayas there stretches a plain, including the basins of the five historic rivers of the Panjâb, and the basin of the Indus

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also, and the Gangetic plain. Eastwards this plain is joined by the basin of the Brahmaputra, and the two united turn southwards towards the Bay of Bengal, and the great Delta round about Calcutta. From the shore of this Bay right up to the river Jhelum not far from the Indus, this delta, this plain, and these basins form an area, some 2,500 miles in length and 500 miles in average breadth, of continuous cultivation with elaborate agriculture, teeming crops, and a dense population of several hundred souls to the square mile. This wonderful area, which may be termed the North Indian Plain, may indeed be matched in China. But excepting the Chinese Empire it is probably not equalled by any plain in the world. Many plains can be found elsewhere, but they will consist of steppe and prairie, or will be imperfectly cultivated and sparsely inhabited. It is the unfailing cultivation and habitation throughout the length and breadth of the North Indian Plain and Delta that constitute the magnificent characteristic.

To the south and south-east of this Plain there arise several ranges of hills, the chief of which is well known as the Vindhya. Beneath them runs the Nerbudda, famed for beauty from its source to its mouth, few rivers on earth presenting a greater number of lovely scenes. South again rises another range running from east to west and forming the backbone of the Indian continent. Below this, that is southwards, there begins a series of plateaux and uplands, with much of cultivation and habitation, also with

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many isolated ranges, till the peninsula is reached. These plateaux are on the east flanked by a low mountain range running from north to south, overlooking the Bay of Bengal, and known to Europeans as the Eastern Ghauts. On the west they are flanked by a range known to Europeans as the Western Ghauts. This range has geological formations of marked character and striking aspect. It overlooks the coast of Bombay and the Arabian Sea or the Indian Ocean. From it there arise several rivers well known in Indian annals, which flow from west to east athwart the plateaux, burst through the Eastern Ghauts and enter the Bay of Bengal. On both sides of the continent and the peninsula there are coast districts, or littoral tracts between the two mountain ranges above mentioned and the sea, always exceedingly fertile and thickly inhabited.

The names of the many Indian rivers need not here be given; but among them several, the Indus, the Jhelum where Alexander the Great defeated King Porus, the Satlej where the Conqueror was compelled by his Macedonians to halt and turn back, the Jamna which flows past Delhi and Agra, the seats of the Great Mogul; the Ganges, the sacred water of the wide-spread Hindu faith, and the Brahmaputra whose source was for long as mysterious as that of Nile, and is still but imperfectly explored, have during all ages been known to the learned world in all climes.

In addition to India proper, as sketched above,

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Burma has been included in the Indian Empire. It comprises the whole valley of the Irrawaddy from its source, so far as that has been explored, to its mouth near Rangoon. Here again is a far-reaching expanse of cultivation and a fertile delta. This basin, and the neighbouring regions adjacent to the Bay of Bengal, once formed the Empire of the Burmese Alompra. Bit by bit this dominion fell into the hands of the British, till the kingdom of Ava, in the upper valley of the Irrawaddy alone remained. The Burmese King might, if so minded, have remained there in safety as the ally of the British. But he was found to be secretly opening negotiations with the French. In consequence he forfeited his kingdom, which was annexed to the Indian Empire. This annexation brought the British dominion into immediate contact with south-western China.

The population, about three hundred millions as already stated, is largely but not entirely Aryan. It includes the entire Hindu race and all who follow the Hindu religion. The common faith may be said to combine in one nationality the descendants of the Vedic Hindus, immigrants from Central Asia in remote antiquity, and the aboriginal races, whom they found in India and on whom they imposed their religion. Outside these again are those aboriginal races who in the earlier ages escaped the Hindu yoke, some of whom have largely accepted it in a loose way, while many of them have never taken it at all. In round numbers there are over two hundred millions

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of Hindus proper, divided into the four historic Castes. Their faith is named Hinduism in popular literature, but the correct name is Brahmanism, as contra-distinguished to Booddhism. Then there are about thirty millions of aboriginal races, some of whom may be tinged with Hinduism, and are included in the census among Hindus. Among the Hindus are included three historic tribes or races, the Mahrattas, the Sikhs, and the Gurkhas, all famed in arms and in politics. The Jains, though probably of Hindu race, are separate in religion. There are about sixty millions of Moslems or Muhammadans. Of these a considerable number, scattered all over the land, are descendants of the Central Asian races, Mongols, Moguls, Bokharians, Persians, with some few Arabs, and these are regarded as the real Moslems. The remainder are people of humble Hindu or of aboriginal races who were during the Middle Ages converted, more or less forcibly, by Moslem rulers to Islam. They dwell chiefly in north-eastern India, and are fast increasing in numbers. Thus it comes to pass that the King-Emperor of India has more Moslem subjects than the Sultan of Turkey (including Arabia) or the Shah of Persia, or the Khedive of Egypt. Of Booddhists there are more than seven millions, because Burma is Booddhist. Otherwise Booddhism is hardly to be found any longer in India proper, save in the south-eastern corner of the Himalayas.

Such, in the briefest terms, is the land, such are

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the inhabitants, of the Empire wherein the changes and the progress during the nineteenth century are to be summarised in the following chapters. There is not, there cannot be, any space for describing the glories, the wonders, the beauties of India—the chains of snowy peaks looking from the distant plains almost like a cyclopean wall of pearly white against the blue—the arid sun-baked plains, the rivers spreading with inundations, the jungles and morasses, the forests rich in timber, in leafage and in bloom—the majestic ruins, in number, in variety, in dimensions, hardly equalled by any other country in the world, and often constituting the sole record of extinct dynasties and mystic creeds long dead—the surging crowds of temple worshippers, the parti-colored costumes making the people seem like moving masses of rainbow hues—the entire panorama of the magic East—the industrial arts unrivalled among any lands, in design and colour, in variety of material, and in the number of subjects or objects artistically treated. These things are still to be seen to-day, though they were doubtless finer in 1800, when the story of change and progress begins, and must have been grander still in the preceding centuries. But nowadays to them are added many marvellous sights, the products of the nineteenth century, as will be hereafter shown.

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CHAPTER II.

STATE OF INDIA IN 1800.

As a basis for the story of progress, the situation of India in 1800, the dawn of the century, must be reviewed.

At that moment the Mahratta Empire was the dominant power. It had been founded a century and a half previously by the Mahrattas, mountaineer Hindus of the Western Ghaut range under their national hero Sivaji. It had completed the overthrow of the Mogul Empire, which was from inherent feebleness falling to pieces. It had cooped up the heir of the Great Mogul as a puppet in the imperial palace at Delhi, with a shrunken authority over the city and its neighbourhood. It was unable to prevent two Moslem kingdoms springing out of the ruins of the Mogul dynasty, one in Oudh, a noble province at the base of the Himalayas, the other on the plateau of the Deccan in the heart of the Continent under the Nizam of Hyberabad. It had been stricken and injured by two Moslem inroads from beyond India, the one Persian, the other Afghan. It had never been anything better than a loose confederation of powerful Mahratta chiefs of low castes,

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under a head styled the Peshwa, who was a Brahmin. Still there was nothing like an imperial authority prevailing in India except the Mahratta. In this limited sense it has been historically said that the Mahratta Empire succeeded the Mogul, to be in its turn succeeded by the British. In the year 1800, the Mahratta confederacy had come to be represented by the sovereign chiefs, Sindhia (originally a slipper-bearer), Holkar (a goatherd), the Gaekwar (a cow-herd); all in western and south-western India; by the Bhonsla of Nagpore, and the Peishwa (Brahmin), both on the Indian Continent. These were confronting the young giant of British power. An upstart Moslem power had arisen amid the Mysore hills in the south-west part of India; but its head, Tippoo Sultan, had unbearably provoked the British, and had been slain when the breach in the walls of his capital at Seringapatam was stormed. This was one of the closing events of the eighteenth century and left the Indian peninsula at the disposal of the British in the beginning of the nineteenth.

The British Power in India had by this time quite expelled the French after a very severe contest, on sea and land, which did as much honour to the courage of the vanquished as to that of the victor. Of the Portuguese settlements along the western coast little remained except "souvenirs heroiques," as they phrased it. Rank jungle was overspreading the ruined edifices of ecclesiastical magnificence and civic luxury. Panjim, or New Goa, was but a feeble

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replica of the mediæval Goa. Of the Dutch Establishments nothing appreciable remained.

Thus the British was in 1800 the only European Power facing all the Native Powers of India. Even then a thoughtful observer, European or Indian, could see that the British Power might, if so minded, make itself supreme. It had evinced maritime superiority, and the approaches to India from without were entirely by the sea, as the expectation of Moslem invasion from the north-west had quite ceased. It had three bases of power, Madras and Bombay on the coast, and Calcutta within the coast indeed, but having all the advantages of a seaport. It had in Calcutta a harbour for the largest ships in an unassailable position, commanding the mouth of the Ganges river-system and the entrance to the Gangetic Plain. In Bombay it possessed an indentation on the western coast, forming a harbour highly defensible, and in the first rank among the harbours of the world, being the only large harbour on the shores of India. It had no other similar positions to guard besides these two, inasmuch as the mouths of the Indus on the west were then harbourless, and as Kurrachi, now the port of the future in that quarter, had not then been discovered. It had at Madras no harbour indeed and only an open roadstead, but still a position excellently suited for the control of the Indian peninsula. It already owned the dominion in one-fifth of India, with Native Indian forces raised by itself under European Officers, and supported by King's

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troops, horse and foot, sent out from England, and maintained in India at the cost of the Indian treasury. It had some territories near Madras and Bombay much exposed to attack and somewhat precarious in resources. But it had behind Calcutta the provinces of Bengal and Behar, with the district of Benares, the richest and most populous, the quietest and most easily governed territories in India, and from their north-easterly position the most inaccessible to the possible enemies of Britain, who lay chiefly in the west. Herein it possessed an inestimable advantage which was perceived then and has been felt throughout the nineteenth century. It drew, as it still draws, great financial resources from the rich and unwarlike population which it protected. It did, as it still does, all this quite easily and peaceably. Thus while trouble might rage in other parts of India, the pulse of supreme authority did then beat, as it still beats, steadily and quietly around the heart at Calcutta. The subjugation of the many Native Powers in India by the one British Power, which possessed but one-fifth of the whole country, would depend on two considerations, namely, on the daring, the ambition, the enterprise and the resourcefulness of the British on the spot in India, next on the foresight and the patriotism of the Government in England. That the British in India would evince all these qualities was to be assumed by every one who knew the national character. But there could not be the same certainty regarding the con-

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duct of the Government in England. In the years immediately preceding this epoch that Government had supported its Officers in India far better than the French Ministry had theirs, and that was one of the reasons why the French flag had drooped to the British. It was at this moment in the throes of the contest with Napoleon; still, it contrived to support the Indian Government sufficiently well. But though it had the control of Indian affairs, it did not administer them. That administration was then vested in the Honourable East India Company.

This Company was the greatest corporation that has ever existed. It was resolute to discharge the territorial responsibilities that had devolved, or had been forced, upon its care. It was anxious to do its duty with benevolence and justice to the people that might thus be brought under its rule. But it was actually a trading community, and its members were traders. They had all the enterprising spirit that has ever distinguished the merchant princes of Britain. So they looked to their growing trade as well as to their rising dominion. They naturally hesitated in respect to territorial conquests and annexations, which, however splendid politically, might not prove immediately profitable, while the heavy increase of expense was certain. It might well have been foreseen, then, that a tension would arise between the men in India, who thought of Empire and of politics rather than of trade, of future prospects rather than of present cost, and the men in London who

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thought of trade and business as well as of empire and politics. This indeed is what actually occurred in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

In many and large parts of India the condition of the people was worse than it had been at any time within historic memory. It had been declining towards the close of the seventeenth century from the decay and disruption of the Mogul Empire. It had been falling lower and lower all through the eighteenth century, as the Mahratta Empire was fit only for the rougher part of warlike policy and quite unfit for civil governance. It suffered further from the general unsettlement in most parts of India. In many territories it reached the climax of misery in the early part of the nineteenth century. In the best days of the Mogul Empire the civil arrangements in north-western India had been excellently good. These had been all broken up during the decadence of the Empire. The Gangetic plains were harried and overrun by armed parties. The Panjab plains, becoming the theatres of invasion, had so much become a prey to violence that every village was like a little fortress placed in a state of defence. Wherever the Mahrattas entered, all the benefits of permanent systems were effaced, and a rule quite crude, coarse and temporary was substituted. There was one dreadful feature in the contests between Moslem and Mahratta rulers, namely, this, that either would ravage the territory of the other according to opportunity. Thus it oft befel that the innocent villagers

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were made the victims of the feuds between their respective rulers. To the evils arising from enfeebled administration, corruption, oppression, extortion and malpractices innumerable, there would be added rapine, ravaging, plundering, bloody affray, fire and sword. The roads were unsafe even in daytime. The mysterious method of strangling wayfarers, called Thuggee, was in full play. Robbery of villages by armed parties and by torchlight, called Dacoitee, was flagrant and frequent. It occurred but too often in British territories; how much worse must it have been elsewhere. So much did plundering come into vogue throughout the central part of India at this time that it was systematised and organised under a federation of chiefs called Pindâris. This federation had actually troops under its command, paid from the proceeds, not of revenue but of public robbery. It was strong enough to defy the efforts of the surrounding States and would have gone on extending, had not the British appeared in the field as will be seen hereafter. The Pindari movement is probably a unique phenomenon in national disorder, and sheds a livid light on the state of affairs at the opening of the nineteenth century.

In this picture of almost universal shadow at this epoch there are some comparatively bright spots. The large cluster of Rajput States in the western part of the continent, and adjoining the sandy desert of the river Indus, probably enjoyed immunity, for the most part at least, from the evils above described.

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The Rajputs are descended from the warlike caste of the ancient Hindu immigrants. They have some of the best blood in Asia transmitted through generations unnumbered. They have always been held to represent the chivalry of India. Though they had some struggles with Moslems, marked by several successes and many heroic deeds on their part, they never submitted to the Mogul Emperor, who deemed it safer to have them as allies rather than as vassals. They gave to the Moslem Harem some of the princesses who afterwards became empresses. They held a hilly country behind Agra, one of the imperial capitals; their people, chiefs and princes were all homogeneous; and their positions were naturally defensible. They were impinged upon, and sometimes broken into, by the Mahratta, but their centres were never penetrated, and probably they held aloof from the troubles and the miseries which ushered in the nineteenth century.

Further, it is probable that the southern peninsula, the tongue of rich country stretching down to Cape Comorin, near Ceylon, was not much affected by the circumstances which desolated most parts of India.

Though the people of India have always shown recuperative powers after misfortune, yet the various events, as mentioned above, must have greatly reduced the population, which was much less than what it probably had been in the flourishing days

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of the Mogul Empire, or than what it has certainly become subsequently under British rule. Before the eighteenth century the stores of accumulated wealth in India, bullion, specie, ornaments, precious stones, rich stuffs and movables of value, had been enormous —to European nations quite fabulous. Much of all this must doubtless have disappeared during that hapless century. Still the Natives, with their secretive skill, fostered by sad experience, must have preserved much, especially of the bullion and specie. The Native bankers have ever formed an influential corporation in India. They have had ramifications extending to the remotest parts of the country and to every village. They probably fared better throughout these troubles than any other section of the community. They somehow held their own in the main, and their hoards were not reached. They contrived to transmit their messages and their remittances. They had intelligence of battles and other events sooner than the authorities. The danger for them would be the seizure of their persons; but this does not seem to have happened.

The external sea-borne trade conducted through Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and lesser ports under British protection, went on without much injury from the troubles in the interior of the country. But the internal land-borne trade suffered grievously. The revenue from land was then the main resource for Native rulers. When this failed more or less by reason of the troubles—and it is always the

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first to feel and bow before the storm—they would try to levy something from the traders. Then the transit dues on trade, and direct imposts on local industries, which might have been bearable in former days, were so raised as to become unbearable.

The agricultural interest in India was then, as it always had been, and it has since continued to be, the greatest of all interests, so great indeed as to exceed all other things in importance. At this time, owing to the troubles, the cultivation had shrunk in all villages, while in many villages there was blank desolation. As cattle-lifting had become well-nigh universal, the flocks and herds on a thousand hills had been carried off. The rights in the property and in the occupancy of land are to Indian people the most precious of all possessions. They had existed from the beginning of time, when the plough first invaded the forest and the waste. They had brokenly lived on through many revolutions before the Mogul Empire. Under that Empire they had been fairly well recognised and preserved. After that they had been blotted and blurred but never effaced, deluged by oppression but never extinguished, trampled on but never stamped out. In northern India they were kept alive by the historic Village Communities of which the constitution has since been the subject of inquiry in Europe. At the opening of the nineteenth century, though latent in the popular mind, they were non-apparent, and, in so far as they existed, were rendered valueless by

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over-taxation or extortion, almost everywhere save in the British territories. In Bengal and Behar, indeed, towards the close of the eighteenth century there had been a recognition and determination by law of the landlord's property in land, called Zemindari. This was rendered effective and absolutely valuable by the perpetual limitation of the Government demand for the land revenue. This demand was settled then and there for ever, under the orders of the Marquess Cornwallis, then the Governor-General. It has since been known to history as the Permanent Settlement of Bengal and Behar. This was the only settlement made in the eighteenth century, and no such settlement had been made in any previous century. It affected the landlords only, and made no provision for the subordinate rights of tenancy or of occupancy which, according to Indian custom, must have existed in these two provinces as in all other parts of India.

The horrid rites or practices, well known to literature, Sati or widow burning, female infanticide, human sacrifices, were in full force at this time. Nothing could, amidst the convulsions of the body politic, be done for public improvement either moral or material. Many Moslem colleges stood in ruins. Among the Hindu youth the voice of the schoolmaster was unheard, save within the precincts or the recesses of the temples.

There may be difficulty in describing the condition in 1800 of those industrial arts which had for

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ages caused India to be a bright image in the thoughts of the civilised world. But at the best it must have been much depressed. Take her all in all and from the beginning to the present time, India is believed by her friends to hold the first place among the nations in industrial arts, as apart from pictorial art and from classic sculpture, in which she holds no place at all. The only countries which could be seriously compared with her are China and Japan. But though China surpasses her in splendour of colour, in boldness of design, in richness of material; though Japan excels her in accuracy of handiwork, in exquisite fancy, in harmonious quality, and though both enjoy the supremacy in pottery and ceramic art, still in extent and variety of beautiful fabrics and manufactures India has more than equalled both these countries. For this superiority of hers in comprehensiveness there is a particular reason, namely this, that each of those two countries has had but one civilisation, derived from one stock of ideas, whereas India has had two civilisations, one Hindu-Booddhist, the other Moslem, and for her each of these civilisations has contributed to the magnificent result. It is the matchless variety of Indian art-works that establishes the claim to superiority on the sum total of achievement; the textile fabrics of silk and cotton, the muslins, the embroideries and brocades, the shawl-making from the softest wool, the needlework, the enamelling, the metal-work generally and the brass-work especially,

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the armoury, the ornamental leather, the carving and the inlaid woods, the marble inlaid with many coloured stones, the miniatures, the work in ivory and in horns, the feathers and plumage, the silver filigree, the gold stamping and chasing, the gold and silver tissue, and other things of beauty derived from every material that nature supplies. India, too, did this with an elegance, a delicacy, a pure brightness of colour, all peculiarly her own. The springtime of this widespread art was in the last centuries after the Christian era when the Brahmanism (now called Hinduism) had finally expelled Booddhism and acquired universal dominion throughout India. The full summertide was under the Mogul Empire when Moslem art had been added to the old Hindu arts. After that came the chill autumn and the dark days which have just been described. The ancient frescoes and vast stone sculptures of the Booddhists and of the Brahmanists in the early days of their success had long become things of the elder past. The Moslem architecture was still standing as a monument ennobling the land and as a wonder for all observers who might come in future from other climes. But it, too, had become only a marked vestige of the more recent past. One unrivalled Moslem art had already perished, apparently never to be resuscitated, namely, the imparting fixed colours of the finest hues to earthenware, because it was carried on by a very few families who perished in the revolutions, and their matchless art became extinct with them. The Mahrattas were

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generally an inartistic people, but they had one superb art, namely, wood-carving, of which they left many of the finest examples ever seen anywhere, but of precarious permanency because of the risks from fire.

Nevertheless, though some arts had gone irrevocably, and though art-industry in general must have lost much of the patronage which it had previously, and must have been somewhat shrunk or even may have languished, yet it was too strongly rooted in the national habits to die or even to decay. It still lived awaiting the advent of happier times.

Thus it had come to pass that just when the British rule in India began to be developed in the beginning of the nineteenth century there was more of misfortune and of misrule than had been known for several, perhaps even for many, centuries. So there were elements in the social and political atmosphere which produced darkness before dawn.

In justice to the British this position of affairs ought to be appreciated. They were now coming into an immense heritage which was largely desolate, and which had to be laboriously restored. But such restoration, and the reduction of disorder to order, would occupy at least one generation. The urgent work of pacification must necessarily precede all attempts at civilised improvement. Thus due allowance must be made for all these circumstances if the progress during the first half of the century shall be found much slower than that of the latter half.

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CHAPTER III.

FORMATION OF THE EMPIRE OF INDIA.

THE position of the British dominion in India about the year 1800 having been explained in the preceding Chapter, the progress of that dominion during the nineteenth century will now be described.

The first and greatest of the long line of Governors-General, Warren Hastings, had long ceased to rule. But in 1800, another Governor-General almost as great, the Earl of Mornington, promoted to be Marquis Wellesley, was in full power. He had a slight and well-knit frame with a head like Apollo. Those who worked with him in the heyday of his career affectionately spoke of him as "the glorious little man." It has been written of him: "The time had come when the English must either become supreme in India or be driven out of it; the Mughal (Mogul) Empire was completely broken up; and the sway had to pass either to the local Muhammadan Governors of that Empire, or to the Hindu confederacy represented by the Mahrattas, or to the British. Lord Wellesley determined that it should pass to the British."* It was from 1801, then, to 1804, that he essayed this great enterprise, first to settle

* See Sir William Hunter, *The Indian Empire*, p. 297 (1882).

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affairs quickly with the remaining Moslem princes, and then to subdue the Mahratta Confederation. After the destruction of Tippoo Sultan in Mysore, as previously mentioned, he formed an alliance with the Nizam of Hyderabad in the Deccan, and soon all the peninsula except the hill States of Mysore and Travancore, near the famous Nilgiri (or Neelgherry) hills, and the eastern coast of India became British, being incorporated in the Madras Presidency, which at that early date was constituted very much as it exists in the present day.

Southern India having been thus arranged, he turned his full thoughts on the Mahrattas, who held all central and northern India and who were threatening him on every side. He attacked them almost simultaneously on their southern front in the Deccan plateaux and on the northern front in the Gangetic Plain. In reference to the extent of the operations and to the number of hostile groups, this plan of his was the most masterly ever adopted for the British in India. He had two great commanders in the field, General, afterwards Lord, Lake in the north, and his brother, Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, in the south. Each commander won two pitched battles, besides capturing important places. In consequence of these four victories and of the various captures, he had compelled the Peshwa to be quiet, had kept the Gaekwar harmless, had compelled the Bhonsla of Nagpore to cede to the British the province of Orissa on the east

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coast, had conquered and annexed the Gangetic Plain, the classic Hindostan, with Agra, had transferred the Mogul Emperor at Delhi from Mahratta to British hands, had compelled Sindhia to sue for peace. These successes of his, from the base of the Himalayas down to the extremity of the Peninsula, were in their sum total quite magnificent and turned the scattered British dominion into an Empire, young indeed and needing time to develop strength, but still a veritable giant. But his work was far from complete, for Sindhia, though in some ways defeated, was not subdued; Holkar, though stricken, was still defiant; and the Pindari evil mentioned in the last Chapter had not yet been touched. He was continuing to take measures against Holkar, and had suffered some slight failures, when a turn of fortune supervened in 1805.

The tension, as already explained in the last Chapter, between the men in India and the men in London, had set in with some severity. It has been written: "The financial strain caused by these great operations of Lord Wellesley had meanwhile exhausted the patience of the Court of Directors at home (London). In 1805 Lord Cornwallis was sent out as Governor-General a second time, with instructions to bring about peace at any price, while Holkar was still unsubdued, and with Sindhia threatening a fresh war." * By another author, again, it is written: "The Court of Directors (of the East India

* See *The Indian Empire*, by Hunter, p. 300.

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Company) had been alarmed at Lord Wellesley's vigorous foreign policy. Castlereagh at the Board of Control had taken fright, and even Pitt was carried away and committed himself to an opinion that the Governor-General had acted imprudently;" and further: "Cornwallis appeared on the scene with orders from home (London) to substitute negotiations and diplomacy for war, and almost to abandon the proud position of Paramount Power which, foreshadowed by Warren Hastings for the Company in spite of doubts and hesitations, had been attained by Wellesley."* These citations from modern authorities illustrate the springs which move nations to success or to failure. The vapours which may have gathered round the pedestal on which stands the historic image of Wellesley have long disappeared, just as the earth-born mists are dissipated by the ascending sun. He is now praised almost unreservedly, while those who detracted from, or mistrusted, him are disregarded or forgotten.

The Marquess Cornwallis died in 1805, soon after arriving in India, and little was done, fortunately, to spoil Wellesley's work. The imperial influence in India in some degree counteracted the timid counsels in London. Still nothing was done to further the Empire in India till 1814, when another great Governor-General arrived, namely, the Earl of Moira, afterwards the Marquess Hastings.

* See Rulers of India Series, *Cornwallis*, by W. S. Seton Karr, p. 183 (1890).

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He took up the thread of war and politics very much as Wellesley had left them. In his time Holkar was defeated in a pitched battle, the British conquests in Central India near the valley of the Nerbudda were completed; the Peshwa having rebelled was taken into State custody and his Deccan territories were added to the Bombay Presidency; Holkar, Sindhia, the Gaekwar, and the Bhonsla of Nagpore became imperial feudatories of the British; the inchoate Mahratta Empire was thus broken up and the British Empire was raised in its place. He took the Pindari robber-federation seriously in hand, collected an army of 120,000 men to operate against the many positions in Central India occupied by these brigand hordes, and so destroyed for ever this predatory organisation. He undertook a war provoked by Gurkha aggression, against Nepaul, and after some brilliant operations under Sir David Ochterlony, extended the British Empire over the central and eastern sections of the Himalayas. In his time the States of Rajputâna accepted their position as feudatories of the Empire. He retained his high office till 1823, and of him it has been well written: "The map of India, as thus drawn by Lord Hastings, remained substantially unchanged till the time of Lord Dalhousie"—that is, till 1849.

Thus for a considerable interval of twenty-six years, 1823 to 1849, the Empire was for the most part beating time as regards territorial advance. But that time was given to internal management and consolidation.

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In the interval, however, two events occurred claiming notice. Across the Bay of Bengal the Burmese Kingdom of Ava on the river Irawaddy, which really was the empire of Alompra, committed aggressions all along the eastern frontier of Ava. War was undertaken against them in 1824 under the directions of the then Governor-General, the Earl of Amherst. In consequence of that, the province of Assam in the upper valley of the Brahmaputra, adjoining the Gangetic delta, and the provinces of Arracan and Tenasserim, both on the Bay of Bengal, became outlying portions of the Indian Empire. In 1843 the province of Sind in the lower valley of the delta of the Indus, after some warlike feats under Sir Charles Napier, was annexed by the then Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough. This annexation rounded off the political map of India as left by Lord Hastings, and has had far reaching consequences much felt in the present day. In the same interval there occurred the first Afghan War, from 1839 to 1842, which, though undertaken for the sake of ultimately securing the North-west Frontier, did not lead to any accession of territory. As its unsuccessful termination really was a grave reverse, which the British Government could not well afford to incur, the policy was much decried at the time and the reasons strenuously disputed. These reasons, however, related to the expected advance of Russia from Central Asia towards India and to the need for guarding against it. That expectation

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was not then so certain as it has since become. It has been, however, more than fulfilled, and its fulfilment proves the prescience of the authorities in London before the middle of the century when they decided to move upon Afghanistan.

Just in the middle of the century there was another great Governor-General in power, the Earl, afterwards Marquess, of Dalhousie, an inheritor of the traditions of the greatest among his predecessors, Warren Hastings, Wellesley and the Marquess Hastings. It was his lot during a rule of eight years, from 1848 to 1856, to make great acquisitions of territory. The Sikh army, advancing from the Panjab, had attacked British territory and had been defeated in three pitched battles. The Sikh Government was indeed respected and maintained by the victors, but was obliged to accept British control. Soon afterwards the Sikh chiefs and army rose in arms against this control, and brought on a second war, in which they were finally defeated after two pitched battles. Thereon the Panjab was annexed in 1849, the land of the Five Rivers from the Satlej to the Indus, and on to the Khyber. At the same time Cashmere became a Native State under British protection, and so the western section of the Himalayas came within the Empire as the central and eastern sections had already come. This annexation of the Panjab has proved to be an event of the highest interest and importance. Next, the King of Ava offered great provocations to British traders at

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his seaport, Rangoon, and insulted a British frigate which was sent to remonstrate. This led to a war, which ended in the acquisition in 1852 of the Pegu province, including the delta of the Irawaddy, a position of high importance.

Besides these warlike acquisitions there were others of a peaceful kind. In three feudatory States, the princes died without male issue, namely, Satara in the Mahratta Deccan, Jhansi in Central India, and Nagpore, already mentioned in this narrative. The adoption of heirs was not in these cases accepted by the Governor-General, and the territories escheated to the British Government. These annexations caused much discussion at the time and afterwards. The discussion led to a revision of the British regulations in respect to the right of adoption in Native States, in favour of the Princes.

The last of Lord Dalhousie's annexations related to Oudh, which he carried out in 1856, just before quitting office. This grave measure had been resolved upon after political consideration by the Government, both in India and in England. The misrule on the part of the Moslem King of Oudh had long been incorrigible and intolerable. The British Government, when originally recognising the constitution of Oudh, had guaranteed the people against such misrule, and was now held to be obliged to put an end to that once for all by annexation, as prevention and cure had been proved after many patient trials to be impossible.

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Soon afterwards the Sepoy Mutinies, and the war consequent thereon, occurred in 1857 and 1858. These will be described in a subsequent Chapter. Then an interval again ensued, during which no territory of any size worth noticing was annexed, till 1885, excepting a tract along the southern border of Afghanistan in 1879, which tract, though small, is of great importance politically. But in 1885 a considerable conquest took place in the old Kingdom of Ava. This Kingdom was the last remnant of the Burmese Empire, and included the upper valley of the Irawaddy, together with a cluster of Shan States adjoining the Chinese province of Yunnan. The King was an ally of the British and was virtually under their protection. Nevertheless he with his advisers, and probably his chiefs also, chose in the most underhand manner to intrigue with the French with the manifest intention of injuring British interests in that quarter. The discovery of these doings led to military operations against the King, which were followed by the annexation of Ava and its dependencies. These were joined on to the Burmese provinces already taken in 1823 and 1852. Thus all Burma, all its dependencies, all the Burmese population, came under British sway. Thus, too, was formed a frontier adjoining China, giving India an interest in Chinese politics, and conterminous for some hundreds of miles with Siam, causing British attention to be much excited in reference to any proceedings of France which might threaten Siamese independence.

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These many territorial acquisitions, successfully made within the nineteenth century, involving hundreds of thousands of square miles, with scores and scores of millions of population, do indeed make up a sum total of conquest and annexation rarely paralleled in ancient or modern times. As regards territory, the Indian Empire is at rest and in contentment. It has received everything, and nothing more remains to be desired. Once on a time Ranjit Sing, the ruler of the Panjab, seeing a map of India with large patches on it marked red, as indicating British dominion, remarked that ere long it would all become red; and so it has. From Cape Comorin in equatorial regions right up to the borders of Tibet, from the bounds of Afghanistan to those of China, from the Indus to the Irawaddy, even to the Salween beyond that—all, all is British. The territories are either British absolutely, inhabited by peaceful and acquiescent subjects, or else Native States secure in their tenure and basking in the sunshine of British protection. In this area there are two small spots allowed by international right and courtesy, one to France at Pondicherry, the other to Portugal at Goa. None can know better than British politicians that storms may rapidly arise in such an area as this. But at present the area is quite undisturbed. None can estimate more exactly than the responsible defenders how vast are the requirements for adequate defence. But at present there are the defensive resources fully available.

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Though the acquisitions have sometimes been peacefully accomplished, they have been mostly won by the sword. The quantity of the fighting within the century has been great indeed, but its quality has often been critically severe. Victories have been gained in fourteen pitched battles. Two big battles have been fought with indecisive result. Regular sieges have been successfully conducted in eight places. In four instances the defence of beleaguered positions has been heroically sustained by British people. Seven campaigns have been conducted in mountainous regions. Thirty-one lesser expeditions have been conducted against the Tribes on the North-west frontier; besides the great expedition in 1897 and 1898 within the most recent memory. In five instances mishaps or misfortunes have been suffered in the field. Besides all this, three wars have been waged outside India, though for Indian interests, two in Afghanistan and one in Persia. In India itself there have been minor military operations without number, which cannot well be classified in the above categories. India has indeed been long a school for British soldiers both European and Native.

After all this martial renown and territorial success, there will finally arise the question whether these vast proceedings have always, or even generally, been accompanied with fairness and fitness, with justice and mercy. No politician will give an over-confident reply to this question who reflects on the

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infirmity of human motives, on the errors in the noblest purposes, on the faults in the best intentions. Some British critics may have been too ready to answer it as against their own country. The vindication of the conquests before this century is not to be a part of this narrative. But something may be said for the acquisitions within the century. The fundamental consideration is whether a Corporation of Europeans may lawfully and righteously undertake trading in an Oriental country. If they may, then very much will follow from that proposition. They must set up a Factory, or magazine for their stores and goods. It must be made defensible against outrage and pillage. There must be some armed defenders, who may grow into the nucleus of a force. Then the traders will be approached by factions and parties outside with requests for local assistance, which sometimes they are for safety's sake obliged, or induced by trading advantages, to afford. So long as they are politically insignificant they thus become popular with the Natives. But they will imperceptibly or almost unconsciously be drawn into courses which render them of some consequence politically. Then they become the objects of untold dislike, dread, and suspicion to many, though not to all of the Native Chiefs. As against their enemies they will have their friends; and so they begin to enter upon politics. They will be made sometimes to stand on their defence; they will defend themselves successfully. As victors they will naturally

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exact some compensation from their beaten assailants, and here will be the beginning of conquest. Even yet they will as conquerors have but a comparatively limited dominion. If their neighbours, the powerful Native States, often arrogant, self-confident and ignorant of the capacity possessed by Europeans, would only leave the intruders alone and unprovoked, then Native Rule in the country at large might yet be preserved, and the interlopers might remain within their limits. But this abstinence is wholly alien to the ideas of such Native States. Not unnaturally their jealousy prompts them to aggression, indirect at first and more direct as opportunity may offer. This will lead to further warfare always to the advantage of the British and always ending in further acquisitions of territory by them. These warnings might have induced the Native States to refrain for the future, and to respect the British position. But no; their jealousy became more intense as the British position grew; their self-reliance never abated, notwithstanding their invariable defeats in all encounters. They would yet hope to end the British who could not otherwise be mended, and therefore would begin to form formidable combinations. Then at length the British, who had never been impatient, were brought face to face with two alternatives. Either they must suffer destruction and expulsion, or they must fight for the mastery all round. They could not reasonably be expected to accept the first

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alternative of annihilation. So they adopted the alternative of fighting and they fought with decisively victorious effect. The consequence was the formation of a wondrous Empire. This is a bird's-eye view of the many steps by which the British advanced from private trade to Imperial power. They began without any fixed intent; they were led on by circumstances not of their own making; they were often forced on by events beyond their control. With few exceptions, in a long career of contest they are not chargeable with wilful aggression or unjustifiable attack on any neighbours. To say that there are no exceptions would be claiming too much for them, for they are very human indeed. But the exceptions are creditably few, in reference to the trials and temptations with which they were ever beset. With a consciousness of political rectitude and a confidence in the justice of their cause, they were resolved to retain all that had been hardly won, and to do their duty towards all the nations and all the interests that had thus fallen under their charge.

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CHAPTER IV.

DETERMINATION OF THE FRONTIERS.

Such, as set forth in the foregoing Chapter, has been the progress of British dominion during the nineteenth century, till it embraced the whole of the Indian Continent and Peninsula, together with the adjoining Kingdom of Burma, and was declared to be an Empire. But as this Empire is situated in southern Asia across the ocean, several thousand miles from the mother-country of its foreign rulers, from the actual centre of British power in the world, from European resources of every sort, and thus stands in comparative isolation, then the gravest consideration is needed in respect to its Frontiers.

The great Peninsula of India, an inverted triangle with Cape Comorin as its apex, is washed on the east by the Bay of Bengal, on the west by the Arabian Sea. Its borders are therefore unassailable so long as Britain is mistress of the ocean. Above this triangle lies the Continent of India stretching out on both sides. The approach to it on the eastern side is by Calcutta, which would be closed to any hostile access in the face of a superior maritime power. On the western side the approach would be by the Indus

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mouth, which is guarded by the harbour of Kurrachi. So far the frontier aspect is most favourable; but then from Kurrachi onwards there begins a land border of enormous length. It extends from south to north along the base of the mountain range which separates Afghanistan from the Indus valley right up to Peshawar, a distance of eight hundred miles. Then it turns in a south-easterly direction, following the base of the entire Himalayan range from end to end, as far as the upper Brahmaputra valley and the eastern corner of Assam. Then it traverses trackless mountains past the sources of the Irawaddy to the western corner of Yunnan in China, then turning southwards conterminously with Yunnan it touches first the Salween, then the Mekong rivers, and lastly passes along western Siam to the end of the Tenasserim province on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. This land frontier may be about four thousand miles long, and is one of the most diversified frontiers to be found in any Empire. It is well protected by nature and by circumstances in all its parts save one, namely the western, as will be presently seen.

Along the entire northern line Nature herself is the protectress of India, with the snow-clad walls and the citadel rocks of the Himalayas. In the north-eastern section the hills are covered with forests as yet impenetrable. There remains the western section always fraught with possible danger, and the south-eastern section now attracting much in-

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terest and offering a long vista of opportunities. I shall briefly advert to each of these sections.

The western section consists of the line already mentioned as running from Kurrachi to Peshawar. It has been marked out along the base of the hills the chief of which are known as the Sulêmani range. The southern portion of these hills abuts on Beluchistan, the northern portion on Afghanistan. In this southern portion the British Government has seldom had any trouble. But on the northern portion it has had much trouble; for there the hills are inhabited by Moslem tribes warlike, ungovernable and intractable. They form an independent zone between the Indian Empire and Afghanistan. They have often been bad neighbours to the British, committing border raids and such like offences. Against them were most of the expeditions undertaken, which have been mentioned in the preceding Chapter. In 1897 and 1898 they combined for hostile action against the British, with the Afridis at their head, and in the mountain campaign which followed much honour was reflected on the British arms, in the eyes of the world. But so far as these Tribes are concerned the Frontier has been well guarded ever since 1850, when by the annexation of the Panjab the British dominion was extended up to this line. Since the recent campaign it is even better guarded than ever.

But beyond this Frontier lies the mountainous Kingdom of Afghanistan, ruled by the Amir of

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Caubul. Now, so far as Afghanistan is concerned, Britain would have gladly left that kingdom to itself without any interference, keeping it, so to speak, as a quickset hedge between India and Central Asia. From Afghanistan itself there never has been the least apprehension of any attack on, or menace to, India. Nevertheless in 1838 the British undertook military and political operations in Afghanistan, unseating one ruler and seating another. This is known as the first Afghan war, and it ended unfortunately. No further consequence ensued and Afghanistan was left to itself. Negotiations were opened in 1856 and some relations continued on and off without marked result till 1869, when the Amir met the British Viceroy in the Panjab, accepted British aid in money and arms, and virtually undertook to be guided by British advice in his foreign relations. Less than ten years later he received at his Court a Russian agent, and was discovered to have been engaged in a correspondence distinctly disloyal to British interests. These circumstances may be in part described as the collateral results of the Russo-Turkish war then pending. They led to what is known as the second Afghan war. The ultimate consequences of that war were not remarkable in regard to the northern section of the Frontier, but they were very much so in regard to the southern section already described as abutting on Beluchistan. In that quarter the mountains, which from the north had been running parallel to the In-

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dus, recede from the river, for a long space mostly desert, and form a flank for the lofty plateau of Quetta, to which the approach is by the famous Bolan Pass in Beluch territory. In this neighbourhood, as one of the conditions of peace after the war, some outlying districts of southern Afghanistan were ceded to the British by the Amir. Then a railway, with branches, was constructed from Sukkur on the Indus through these districts to the new Afghan border in the province of Candahar, which is the capital of southern Afghanistan. Just here runs a dividing range between this province and the new British territory. The railway pierces this line by a tunnel and emerges at Chaman, the present terminus, about ninety miles from Candahar. The pressing on of this railway at great cost and despite much engineering difficulty, was the most forward step of a permanent character undertaken by the British Government. Evidently this was a military and not a commercial line of railway, and these formidable preparations had reference not to Afghanistan at all, but to some power beyond it.

It was indeed in regard to Russia that all the British proceedings in Afghanistan were really directed. The first Afghan war was undertaken because the interference of Russia was apprehended, the second because it had actually begun. The railway was advanced to the Candahar border to meet any possible advance by Russia. Such an advance, should it ever occur, would probably be by way of Herat.

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Towards Herat, then, is the gaze of the British Government directed, that being the capital of western Afghanistan. This is the quarter which has been menaced by Russian proceedings for many years past. Here, too, is the best line for any advance upon India being attempted by Russia, and in the opinion of many the only practicable line. It is consistent with the utmost moderation to say that the menacing has been direct and indirect. After the second war first mentioned the Amir came under British protection. It became necessary to determine the border between his north-western districts and the Turkoman country then under the influence of Russia. He undertook this delimitation under British guidance. Russian troops in advanced outposts were so actively aggressive towards Afghan troops, and it was so much feared that the aggressiveness would receive sanction from the Russian Government, that war was on the point of breaking out between Britain and Russia, and British preparations financial and naval were begun. The storm passed away, leaving however a troubled sky behind it. The boundary was marked out at last; but the arrangement brought the Russian sphere of influence inconveniently near to Herat.

Having previously rendered the Caspian a Russian lake, having subdued Merve, the headquarters of the Turkomans, having turned Turkomania into a Russian province conterminous with the Afghan province of Herat, Russia began a line of railway

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from the east Caspian shore towards Samarkand in Central Asia to be afterwards joined with the Siberian system. This railway passes near the border of Herat and a branch is being made right up to that border. The meaning of all this is such that the Briton who runs may read it.

Again to the north of Afghanistan the Russian sphere or dominion has been advanced up to the river Oxus. From the point of contact there is a line of march straight upon Caubul. But that is looked upon with less anxiety because it crosses the old Indian Caucasus, which is extremely hard for a modern European force to traverse.

Again the Pamir plateau, the loftiest upland in the world, towers above the western Himalayas in the British dominion. Britain indeed had no desire to interfere in that plateau. But Russia began to interfere and in consequence Britain had to put in a claim. A partition, with a marking out of the borders, ensued; and though Britain got her share, still one of the results was to bring the Russian sphere inconveniently near to the Himalayan Native State of Cashmir which is fully under British protection. It was in reference to this that the armed advance on Chitral, well known in recent history, was undertaken by the British, followed by the permanent occupation of that post.

It were needless to discuss whether Russia ambitiously hopes ever to advance upon India or means only to set up a standing menace on the Herat border

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with a view to ulterior policy in other quarters of the East or Far East. If the object be not the former, it must be the latter. Or it may be for both in combination. The British Government has made formidable preparations to meet either contingency, and is ready to augment them to any extent which circumstances may seem to demand. Meanwhile it is to be observed that between the railway terminus of Russia and that of Britain there is a distance of 450 miles over ground quite practicable indeed, but presenting mighty difficulties in respect of transport and supply for the advance of a modern army in the face of opposition. Whether the Russians could surmount such difficulties may well be doubted. Even if the British forces were to advance to Candahar to bar the enemy's further progress, there would still be 350 miles to be marched over with all these difficulties. In no case will the British army advance beyond Candahar. It would not undertake to defend Herat as being too far from its base. The British Government would however support the Afghans in such a defence.

Previously Britain had been obliged to take up arms on behalf of Herat when Persia attacked it in 1856. One British force was landed at Bushir, near the head of the Persian Gulf, another at Muhammerah, some way up the joint stream of the Euphrates and Tigris. This double inroad compelled Persia to evacuate Herat and to make peace. The Persian Gulf has subsequently been treated as within the British naval sphere. The southern part of

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Persia thus falls within British influence, in event of need, just as the northern part has already fallen owing to the Russian proceedings in Turkomania as just described right along the northern boundary of Persia. The importance of the Persian dominions to British interests would be but slight were it not that Persia might become a highway between Russia and India.

On the eastern side of the Indian Empire it has been seen that the frontier marches alongside of Yunnan, and this causes the British Empire to be in territorial contact with the Chinese. The desire is to open up communications through Yunnan with the upper valley of the Yang-tsze-Kiang, there called "the river of the golden sand." With this view a branch line is being undertaken to the British boundary on the river Salween, from the main line at Mandalay in upper Burma, to which the railway is already running from Rangoon on the coast. If, when the branch actually reaches the Salween, the Chinese Government shall consent to carry the line into the interior of Yunnan, then the possibilities of the future would seem to be immense.

Farther south in this quarter the British frontier is conterminous with Siam for a long distance. This contact was one of the reasons why the British Government regarded with just jealousy the aggression of France upon Siam in 1895, and interposed to effect a joint guarantee with the French Government for Siamese independence when that was threatened by France.

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CHAPTER V.

MACHINERY OF INDIAN GOVERNMENT.

THE formation and conquest of the Indian Empire having been described in the previous Chapter, it becomes necessary to explain what system of Government and administration was set up therein by the British, and how that system has been modified during the nineteenth century; what system of control over the Government in India was established by the Government in Britain, and how that system also has been changed within the century.

The year 1800 saw the British dominions divided into three Presidencies, Bengal, Madras and Bombay. This division had existed from the first historic days—that is, from the seventeenth century—and was still suitable, as these three dominant places have been shown in a previous Chapter to be the real bases of the British Power. Over each Presidency was a Governor with his Council, and each was independent. But when it was decided that one supreme authority must be created, this was done by making the Governor and Council of Bengal, which was much the largest Presidency, supreme over the other two Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The Governor of Bengal was thus styled the

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Governor-General in 1774. In the Madras and Bombay Presidencies the civil and general Government is the same to this day, the Governors and their Councils rule just now as they did then. This fact proves the tendency of British rule to preserve what works well, while making changes whenever they may be necessary. The only change has been this, that when Sind was annexed in 1843 it was at first placed under Sir Charles Napier as Governor, but was shortly afterwards attached to the Bombay Presidency.

But the position of the Governor of the Bengal Presidency, who was also Governor-General of India, has been entirely altered during the nineteenth century. For the last quarter of the eighteenth century the Governors of Bengal, especially Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis, did govern these great provinces and yet guide or control the course of the infant Empire in India. But their successors found the two functions to be more than they could sustain, as the Empire grew into a young giant from the events which happened after the opening of the nineteenth century. The difficulty was aggravated when the Gangetic Plain was attached to the Bengal Presidency under the name of the North-Western Provinces. The overworked Governor-General acted less and less as Governor of Bengal and its dependencies, and devolved the governance of those territories on his Council. But as cares accumulated, this task proved to be to much for the

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Council also. So in 1836 the North-Western Provinces were separated from Bengal, and placed under a Lieutenant-Governor who would be chosen from among the East India Company's servants in India. He would be appointed by the Governor-General however. After this relief the successive Governor-General still held, more or less nominally, the Government of Bengal. At length even such a master-workman as Lord Dalhousie was obliged to give this up, and in 1854, Bengal, with its sister provinces of Behar and Orissa and its outlying dependency of Assam, was placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. Meanwhile the Panjab having been annexed had been placed first under a Board of Administration, which the Lawrence brothers rendered famous in Indian annals, and then under a Chief Commissioner, John Lawrence, of immortal memory. He was in almost all respects a Lieutenant-Governor though not in name; and in some respects there was supervision by the Governor-General. After a time this particular supervision had to be given up, and in 1859 the Panjab was placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. Thus by slow degrees, ending in a convenient and symmetrical arrangement, the Presidency of Bengal, stretching with a mighty sweep from the South-East to the North-West, was divided into three component parts, each part under its own Lieutenant-Governor. Later on as the Burma dominion grew by the addition of province after province, it was attached to the Bengal Presi-

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dency and was under a Chief Commissioner who, though practically a Lieutenant-Governor, was still under some particular supervision by the Governor-General. But in 1897 Burma also was placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. Thus the Bengal Presidency is for the most part under four Lieutenant-Governors, though not entirely so, as will be seen directly. The several Lieutenant-Governors fully conduct the civil governance in all respects, still they are subordinate to the Governor-General in Council and obey any orders he may issue.

Thus during the century the Governor-General in Council has been relieved of nearly all the direct civil governance of provinces, and enabled to devote himself to the fast growing concerns of the Empire at large. But he still has the supervision of some provinces. When Oudh was annexed it was at first placed under a Chief Commissioner, and afterwards added to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces. Nagpore was, some time after its annexation, erected into a chief commissionership with the addition of some territories in the Nerbudda country, under the style of the Central Provinces, in 1862. Assam, in the upper Brahmaputra Valley, was for some time attached to Bengal, but owing to the development of affairs it had to be separated off and placed under a Chief Commissioner.

In civil authority a Governor and a Lieutenant-Governor are much the same, though they differ

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somewhat in the constitution of their offices. A Governor is chosen generally, though not always, from the outside by the Government in England and rules with the advice and assistance of Councillors who are chosen from the Civil Service in India. A Lieutenant-Governor is chosen by the Governor-General from the Civil Service in India and rules without the assistance of a Council.

Thus the British territories under direct British administration with their immense extent, are divided among two Governorships, four Lieutenant-Governorships and two Chief Commissionerships.

But the head of the civil government in a province or group of provinces, be he Governor or Lieutenant-Governor or Chief Commissioner, does hardly more than conduct what may be called the government proper. The administration is carried on by administrators under him. To this end the territories are everywhere divided into Districts something like, though generally much larger than, the counties in the British Isles or the departments in France. That they are large in size may be at once seen from the fact that there are only 250 of them in the whole of British India. The heads of these districts have varying titles, but they bear the honourable and generic name of District Officers. In all parts except Madras, the Districts are formed into groups, and over each group is placed a Commissioner, something like a Prefect. In every Government except that of Bombay there is a superior fis-

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cal authority present at the headquarters. The position of the District Officer, which has existed uninterruptedly from the beginning of British rule and is almost always held by a European, must ever be borne in mind. For it is on him that the comfort and contentment of the Native population mainly depend. To him the Natives look as the embodiment of British Rule. If he be inefficient they will inevitably suffer, and no merit on the part of the Provincial Governor will make amends to them. It is therefore the business of the Provincial Governor to keep his District Officers good, to make them so if they be found to fall short of goodness, to insure that they attain that standard. They themselves, being thus efficient, will answer for order among all their subordinates, mostly Natives, and will secure for their people a just administration, so far as that may be attainable amid all the lets and drawbacks incidental to Native society.

But while the District may be termed the major unit of administrations, there is always within it the minor unit, namely, the Village, as it is termed in the East, corresponding exactly with the Parish as it is termed in the English-speaking countries. In no country can the civil administration be more thoroughly and entirely parochial than in British India, and the same rule prevails in the Native States also. Indeed from the hoary antiquity of the Hindu race, and the oldest of the Indian law-books, the village has been recognised as consisting

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of the group of habitations with its circumjacent lands and with its boundaries defined in contact with its neighbours. The habitations and the lands have ever gone together and formed the parish. Two thousand, even three thousand, years would not be uncommon ages for many of these villages or parishes. In many parts of the country the residents, all descended from a common ancestor, and with lineage traceable in all its ramifications, formed a cousinhood. Such were the historic Village-Communities who strongly defended their rights in the land, right through crises of the utmost turbulence. To each parish there belonged from time immemorial a set of Village Officers also recognised by the oldest law-books, and for the most part hereditary, the office being held from father to son, or from uncle to nephew. Chief among these were the Headman (sometimes but not always named Patel) with a certain initiatory police jurisdiction, the Village Accountant who kept the accounts, between each peasant proprietor and the State, of the payment or arrears of land-revenue, and who preserved the minutest registration of all the landed tenures in the parish. Next after them was the Village Watchman, who has always been and still is the basis of the Police system of the country.

Now these parochial arrangements, which had been fully maintained in all the palmy days of Native Rule, whether Hindu or Muhammadan, were sadly broken through by the troubles of the seven-

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teenth and eighteenth centuries. But they were all restored by the British Rule from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and during the latter half of the century have been scrupulously, almost religiously, guarded by surveys and many other regulations, as will be seen in the coming Chapter on "The landed interests." It may suffice here to remark that the British have always held the parochial system as a means of keeping the people steady, of inducing them to value the time-honoured institutions under which they and their fathers have lived, of causing them to appreciate the benefits of a powerful and settled government of which the permanence is ever to be desired. The number of these Parishes or Villages in all British India is vast, amounting above 537,000; divided among the 250 large Districts above mentioned, and giving an average of over 2,100 Village-Parishes to a District.

It has been already seen that a goodly portion of the Empire remains under the Native rulers and consists of Native States. The area of these is somewhat large as compared with its population, as it often includes hilly country. It comprises more than a quarter of the whole Empire and has a population of more then sixty millions. These States, great and small together, are very numerous; the enumeration of them would show a number so high as four hundred and fifty. All of these have sovereign power of some sort, in very varying degrees, but the greater of them have

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full sovereign power within their own limits, subject always to the general control of the British Government; while their external policy and relations are entirely British. Even in the largest of them there is a British Resident as representative of the Paramount Power, and as chief adviser to the Native Sovereign; to this rule there is no exception. The lesser States, which are really vassal, are generally under one or other of the Governors or Lieutenant-Governors. But the great groups of States, such as those of Rajputana and of Central India, the Moslem State of the Nizam of the Deccan, the Hindu State of Mysore, the three Mahratta States of Sindhia, of Holkar and of the Gaekwar, the Gurkha State of Nepal and the Cashmere State are under the Governor-General direct. They and some others are regarded as Imperial Feudatories. All these Native States have been already mentioned in Chapter III., relating to the formation of the Indian Empire. They are autonomous up to a certain point and in a certain sense, and they afford for Native ability, genius and originality a scope which is hardly afforded in the British territories. But the Princes of the old school have now died out and those of the new school have been educated under Western influence and their administration is being assimilated more and more to that of the British territories.

Such, in outline, being the machinery of the general Government set up on the spot in India, there

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remains to be considered the machinery whereby control, guidance, support is afforded from home, that is from Britain.

In the year 1800 the Honourable East India Company was the immediate source of authority as emanating from Britain towards India. Excepting certain foreign relations, all orders to India came from the Company, and excepting the King's troops, all Indian officials and all the Indian armies were the Company's servants. Though the Company still possessed its mercantile character and functions, its servants had for a considerable time been wholly dissociated from trade, were not allowed to engage in any private transactions, and were public servants in the highest and purest sense of the term. The Company had been from the first, that is from the dawn of the seventeenth century, incorporated by Royal Charter, and its position had given it the monopoly of the Indian trade with Britain. There had been modifications and renewals of the Charter. The last of these renewals had taken place in 1793. For some generations the control by the Government in Britain over the Company had been general only. But in 1784 a specific control had been instituted and was constantly exercised in all particulars, though under a separate roof, by a Board of Control in daily communication with the Company's India Office in the historic Leadenhall Street. The President of that Board was usually a member of the British Cabinet. The patronage, however,

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still remained with the Company for the most part. The Governors and the Members of Council were appointed by the Company. The Governor-General was always chosen by the Crown; but in reference to the Governor-General a peculiar provision was afterwards introduced, namely this, that in the Company was vested a power of recalling him even without the sanction of the Government in Britain. The effect was to compel the Governor-General to accord a deferential consideration to the Company's views and wishes. Such a power would be made use of but rarely. But it was once exercised in a signal manner as will be seen hereafter. The most important branch of the Company's patronage related to the Civil Service, then bearing the name of Covenanted, as its Members were all under Covenant with the Company. This renowned and historic Service, placed by emolument and social position beyond the reach of temptation, and bearing a lofty character, filled all the higher offices and all the administrative posts of any consequence in India. The Members of it were all in the first instance nominated in Britain by the Directors of the Company. But the young men thus nominated had to be trained in an East India Company's College at Haileybury in Hertfordshire, and had to undergo examinations in all the ordinary European subjects and in many Oriental subjects besides. This valuable and important patronage was in part a reward to the Directors for their labours in the Directorate,

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and the check on its exercise consisted in the severe training which the nominees had to undergo. In its day this Service was famous as the most highly organised and remunerated service in the world.

Probably no other homogeneous body of public servants, several thousands in number, could at any time or in any country show such a muster roll of illustrious administrators as this.

Such in general terms was the control over India exercised in Britain in the early part of the nineteenth century; but changes soon began to occur. First in 1813 by a new arrangement the Company was deprived of the monopoly of the Indian trade. Then in 1833 the trading functions of the Company were terminated, and its Corporation was retained solely as a territorial and governing authority. In 1844 the Court of Directors exercised their power of recalling the Governor-General, in the case of Lord Ellenborough. They alleged no charge whatever of misfeasance against His Lordship; but dissensions had arisen between him and them. In 1853 the Company's charter was revised; in the revision the notable feature was this that the power of nominating members to the Covenanted Civil Service passed away from the Court of Directors, and the entrance to that Service was thrown open to public competition under conditions determined in England. This proved to be the last of the revisions of the Company's Charters which had now extended over two centuries and a half.

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In 1857 the Mutinies in the Native Army of India broke out, followed by the War of theMutinies, to be described hereafter. In 1858 the East India Company was abolished altogether, the Court of Directors ceased to exist and the Government of India, as exercised from Britain, was assumed by the Crown. All orders from England, which heretofore had run in the name of the Company, thereafter ran in the name of the Crown, all the servants of the Company became the servants of the Crown. But in India itself no change was immediately made except that the Governor-General became the Viceroy and Governor-General; and Lord Canning, who was at that time the Governor-General, became the first Viceroy. A most dignified and gracious proclamation was issued by the Queen in Council, to the Princes, Chiefs and people of India, assuring them that all existing arrangements would be confirmed, that all rights would be respected as heretofore, that all engagements previously made would be fulfilled. The end of the great Company had come amidst blood and iron, thunder and lightning, tumult and tempest, still its noonday had been resplendent and its career of conquest, governance, and administrative improvement had beeen unparalleled in the annals of private enterprise in any age or country.

In 1875 the Prince of Wales visited India with excellent effect in all quarters. In 1877 the Queen, by and with the advice of Parliament, assumed the title of Empress; she was thenceforward styled

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Queen-Empress of India, and had the subscription of R.I. or Regina et Imperatrix. The proclamation of the imperial style was made at Delhi, the old capital of the Mogul Empire, under the direction of Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, with a magnificence and solemnity probably surpassing any occasion that had ever been witnessed, even in India, proverbially the land of pomp and pageantry. The idea thereby promulgated had long been familiar; the word empire had been used in speech and in writing, officially and unofficially all through the century, and the adjective imperial had usually been applied to everything that related to India at large. This was now settled in the face of all nations, and India stood forth in her full rank as an Empire.

The assumption of the Government of India by the Crown did not immediately cause any particular change in the various Civil Services, whether Covenanted or Uncovenanted. But subsequently as the servants who had once been under covenants with the Company passed away, the name Covenanted was given up and the term Imperial (Indian) Civil Service was adopted. The other branches heretofore styled Uncovenanted were then designated the Civil Service.

But the changes which became necessary in the Military Services caused much trouble. The Queen's troops serving in India kept their status unchanged. But the Company had possessed a considerable body of European troops, several battalions of Infantry, almost all the European Artillery serving in the

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country, and recently some regiments of Cavalry. It was believed that these fine troops would willingly transfer their services from the Company to the Crown; but on measures being taken for the transfer, under this belief, they manifested objections which in some cases took the form of mutiny. The affair became for the moment very grave, but the Government acted with wisdom and forbearance, and all men who were unwilling to transfer their services were allowed to take their discharge.

The Native Indian forces, consisting of three Armies, belonged respectively to Bengal, Madras and Bombay. These were transferred to the Crown without any difficulty as regards transfer; though the conditions of service and pension pertaining to the European officers needed much rearrangement. In 1893 it was determined to abolish the separate Armies of Madras and Bombay and to combine all the forces of India under one Commander-in-Chief. So the forces were combined in one Army, divided into several Army Corps, namely one for the Madras Presidency, one for the Bombay Presidency and three for the Bengal Presidency.

In the Naval arrangements a complete change was made. Under the Company an Indian Navy had long existed of some renown in the seas around India, and in the Persian Gulf. This was given up, and the protection of India by sea was undertaken by the Royal Navy; a squadron of considerable strength in numbers was maintained on the Indian

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station, to the cost of which the Indian Treasury contributed.

Besides the military changes thus sketched there were grave circumstances in the history of the Native Armies, and in their relations towards the European forces, which demand separate treatment and will be noticed in the succeeding Chapter.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE INDIAN MUTINIES.

In the preceding Chapter the constitution of the Army of India has been sketched, as it grew during the course of the century, and was determined with some finality in the closing decade. But mention was also made that there were grave circumstances in the history of the Native Armies, before their combination into one Army, which would be separately described. These circumstances comprise what are known to history as the Indian Mutinies of 1857, and the War of the Mutinies which immediately ensued.

It has been stated already that the Native Indian forces of the Company, called Sepoys, consisted of three Armies belonging to the three Presidencies, Bengal, Madras and Bombay. The Governors in each Presidency had, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, raised these Native forces for the Company, which were brought by Acts of Parliament under the Mutiny laws. As they grew in numbers, they were styled Armies, and each Army had its own Commander-in-Chief, whose office was recognised, so far back as 1784, by Parliament.

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In the year 1798 the strength of the Sepoy forces in the three Presidencies together stood at 122 battalions, and the strength of a battalion might be reckoned at something under a thousand. By that time the great Marquess Wellesley was at the head of affairs. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, that is in 1808, the total Native troops had risen to 154,000. In that year the strength of European troops amounted to 24,500, which represented a proportion of one European soldier to six Native. The East India Company had begun under the authority of Parliament to enlist men in the British Isles for its service in the branches of artillery and infantry. To the Company also were lent King's troops, both cavalry and infantry, for which it defrayed all charges during their service in India. But as military operations became more and more extensive, and as larger and larger garrisons were needed for conquered provinces, so the strength of the three Armies rose till, at the beginning of the late Queen's reign in 1837, the total number of the regular Native forces or Sepoys, Officers and men, stood at 218,000, besides some Native levies, that of European troops at 36,000. The number of the Sepoys rose still higher up to 1857, when their strength may be stated thus in Battalions, for Bengal 74, for Madras 52, for Bombay 29, or 155 Battalions in all, with an established strength of about 1,000 per Battalion, officers and men. In the three Presidencies also there were 39

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Regiments of Native Cavalry.* These forces were officered by Europeans; were recruited separately in each Presidency, both Hindus and Moslems. They had their home associations widely separated, though they were in some degree united by a community of faith. They spoke different languages, though they all understood one language, the Urdu or Hindustani, enough for practical purposes. This division into distantly scattered parts was held to be an element of Imperial safety as preventing, or at least rendering difficult, any combination of a dangerous character, and such proved largely to be the case in the grave events which are presently to be recounted. Besides these Sepoys, who were counted as regular troops, there had grown up by 1857, several local bodies, the Panjab Trans-Indus force, the Nagpore force, the Gwalior contingent, under Sindhia, the Nizam's Contingent in the Deccan. These were organised almost as highly as the Sepoy troops, and constituted a considerable addition to the Native Indian forces. Meanwhile the European forces, belonging to the Crown and to the Company, had not been proportionately augmented. Their total stood at thirty-eight thousand. But the Native forces, the Sepoys and the Levies, above mentioned, taken together, were reckoned at a total of three hundred and forty-eight thousand. Accordingly the European soldiers were as one to nine, or

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "Army."

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one to eight at the best.* Thus there was an undue disproportion between the European and Native forces in the Empire. This grave fact was no doubt noticed by thoughtful observers at the time; still there was not any public apprehension. Recent wars, in which the Sepoys had borne an honourable part, had been so successful, their interests were apparently so bound up with the British Government, their European Officers, who ought to know best, had so much confidence in them, that the public felt no alarm. There had indeed been mutinies of a partial character among the Sepoys at divers times during the century, but these had related to grievances about pay or conditions of service. It was not by any one anticipated that the men would go so far as to rise against the Government itself, upon whom they depended for their lifelong livelihood.

During the winter of 1856-7, extreme fear suddenly arose among the Sepoys of the Bengal Army regarding certain cartridges which the men were to bite, and which were said to be greased with animal fat. Mutiny occurred at several military stations and was suppressed, but threatening symptoms continued to break out.

On the 11th May, 1857, startling facts were flashed all over India by the electric telegraph. At Meerut, a large Station in the upper valley of the Ganges, there was a force of European and Sepoy

* See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "Army."

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troops. On the evening of Sunday, the 10th, the Sepoys mutinied and fled. Through a mistake by the commander the available European strength at the Station was not properly employed to suppress Native mutiny. During the night the mutineers marched on Delhi, 35 miles distant, were joined by the Native garrison there, proceeded to the palace of the Great Mogul, and proclaimed as Emperor the living representative of the old Mogul dynasty.

The significance of this was unmistakeable. There must have been a conspiracy among the Bengal Sepoys, some 100,000 strong, and this combination must have been directed against British Rule in India. The British authorities were, as usual, instant in grasping the situation of peril. At some Stations, notably Lahore, the capital of the Panjab, the Sepoy regiments were deprived of their arms, under the eye of Sir Robert Montgomery. At some places, particularly near Benares, a small European force beat four times its own number of mutineers. For the moment no particular rebellion among the Native population ensued. But that also, as weeks passed on, began to appear in various quarters. In the Native States, south of Delhi, several Sepoy garrisons were stationed, and these having mutinied marched on Delhi, whither mutineers from many British Stations were flocking—after having in many, though not in all, cases murdered their European officers.

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Soon the Civil Government of the North-Western Provinces, with its headquarters at Agra, was immured within the walls of the old Mogul fortress there. A similar fate befel the Civil Government and European garrison of Oudh in its headquarters at Lucknow. The death of Sir Henry Lawrence there, and the subsequent defence, form one of the noblest among the many noble episodes of the crisis. On the other hand the operations of the rebel forces against the positions successively occupied by the British at Lucknow were the most skilfully designed and obstinately conducted proceedings during the war on their side. Thus the tide of rebellion rose and spread till the whole of the middle and upper valleys of the Ganges, the historic Hindostan, from Benares to the Panjab, was submerged, while the fortified positions of Agra and Lucknow were as islands in a surging ocean. An area of, say, one hundred and fifty thousand square miles of the very finest territory, the best in all India, with forty millions of inhabitants was temporarily lost to the British Government.

The disturbance spread in a lesser degree to many parts of the Bombay Presidency, then governed excellently well by Lord Elphinstone, and to Sind, in the lower Indus valley, then ruled energetically by Sir Bartle Frere.

In the Panjab the British Government held its own indeed, under Sir John Lawrence, but the large body of Sepoy troops cantoned there either mutinied

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or were disarmed. In all India, the only parts free from disturbance were Bengal proper, Orissa, and the Madras Presidency. With a few most honourable exceptions, the whole Sepoy Army of Bengal mutinied. The mutiny extended indeed to the Bombay Army, but did not make any head there; it touched the Madras Army but slightly. The centre of mutiny and rebellion was the newly proclaimed Emperor at Delhi. He had with him a large force of Sepoy mutineers who brought to the rebel treasury the plunder of the many British treasuries under their guardianship when they mutinied. The season of the year, that of the periodical rains, was the very worst for British operations. Every week added to the peril of the Panjab, and if that famous Province, next door to Afghanistan, should fall, the moral effect upon India would be incalculable.

This outline can give no idea of the tragical occurrences in many places, the murders at Delhi, the horrors of the massacre at Cawnpore, nor depict the efforts against overwhelming odds, the lightning energy, the heroic endurance, all exhibited on the British side. Errors, shortcomings, failures, there were on the part of individuals. But these paled before the courage, skill, promptitude, and resourcefulness evinced by the British Government in India and its officers as a whole, who were indeed as lions at bay.

The terrific crisis was surmounted in this wise.

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In the first place, a force of Europeans, cantoned in the Himalayas near Simla, marched upon Delhi, and routed a large body of mutineers that had advanced from the city. This force was not, however, able to take the city by a *coup de main,* and had to sit down before the west side of it, thus commencing a siege, while the other three sides remained open to the enemy. This had, however, a moral effect, because the Indian world saw that the British Government really meant re-conquest. So the rebel efforts were concentrated in one city where, at all events, British power, if not as yet triumphant, was still militant in what became famous as the "Camp before Delhi."

Then from the Panjab under Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence were sent not only reinforcements, but also levies newly raised in that Province. The material aid of the Panjab men was important; the moral effect, again, was equally valuable as showing to the Indian world that the Government had still the means of replacing the Sepoys. The Government of India at Calcutta, of which Lord Canning was the head, spared no effort to send European reinforcements to the distressed districts. European troops were brought up from the Madras Presidency, from British Burma, from Ceylon. A force of several regiments, on its way from England to China under the direction of Lord Elgin, was diverted to India. The warship Shannon, under Captain (afterwards Sir William) Peel, appeared

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before Calcutta, and afforded a naval brigade for land service. Most timely advances were made by Generals Havelock and Neill up the Ganges from Benares to Allahabad and on to Cawnpore. In August Sir Colin Campbell arrived from England to assume the chief command in succession to General Anson, who had died near Delhi early in May. Most fortunately the rich and populous territories round the Governor-General's head-quarters at Calcutta were quiet. Large revenues still flowed in, the financial credit of the State was maintained. While the extremities of the body politic were trembling, the heart beat tranquilly.

Still, despite the constant impulse given to military movements, the clouds gathered thicker and darker over the British position, and by the beginning of September the fate of British rule in Northern India hung tremulously in the balance. But in the middle of September a decisive change supervened. Sir John Lawrence, at all risks to his own Province in order to take Delhi, had despatched the final reinforcements to the Camp before that city, and had in his own words "gleaned his last man." On the 14th, General Archdale Wilson commanding in that Camp, with John Nicholson, Neville Chamberlain, and Alexander Taylor, stormed with the most determined assault. The place was captured, though with difficulty, the mock Mogul Emperor was made a prisoner, the beaten mutineers fled, and the British authority in all the surrounding territories was restored.

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Later in the autumn the first relief of Lucknow was accomplished by Generals Havelock, Neill and Outram. A further relief was necessary towards the end of November. Sir Colin Campbell, advancing from Cawnpore to Lucknow, released the beleaguered garrison and the European families imprisoned there. He was not, however, able to occupy the City or reconquer the Province just then. Meanwhile he left Outram with a small force in the suburbs of Alambagh. This position was for many weeks assailed by the rebels, and its defence forms another of the episodes of the war.

All this while, that is since the arrival in June of the news from Delhi, the British Government in London, under Lord Palmerston, had been putting forth efforts of a unique character. In a few weeks fully forty thousand men were despatched in sailing ships round the Cape of Good Hope to India, a distance of twelve thousand miles, the overland route not being then available for military transport. These began to arrive early in the winter, and before Christmas there was a European army in India fully sufficient to render the foundation of the British Rule secure. By New Year's Day of 1858, the British Indian Government and its officers were able to breathe again after the terrific storm of the last eight months of 1857.

The course of 1858 was marked with victory after victory to the British cause. Although the principal native Princes and Sovereigns were themselves

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loyal to the British Sovereign Power, yet their troops in some cases, notably in the case of Sindha, were mutinous and their subjects rebellious. Early in the year Sir Colin Campbell with a powerful force again advanced upon Lucknow and finally recaptured it, whereon the rebellion in Oudh soon collapsed. But the settlement of affairs with the Talukdars or territorial aristocracy of Oudh caused much trouble. During the same season Sir Hugh Rose (afterwards Lord Strathnairn) had to make his famous march from the Bombay Presidency, cutting his way right through the disturbed districts of Central India to Hindustan. As the summer approached the rebellion shrank and waned. By the eleventh of May, that is, the first anniversary of the tragedy at Delhi, it was virtually broken. It yet lived on through the summer. But by the winter of 1858—just eighteen months from the fatal 11th May, 1858—external order had been almost universally restored.

The causes of this mighty outbreak, which has been duly described by the historian as "the most marvellous episode of modern times," have often been discussed with but partial information. They may be classified, first as original, second as proximate. The original fundamental and abiding cause was simply this, that the guardianship of the British Rule, which with all its merits was necessarily alien, had been entrusted to an over-mastering Native Army vastly outnumbering the European troops. The Sepoys had a sense of power, a belief that the

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physical force lay with them. They had been in the main faithful to their foreign paymasters. Nevertheless they loved their old dynasties, their indigenous rulers, their Asiatic faiths and customs. Here then is the one great cause, which swallowed up all the other causes. Here was the cardinal error which gave fatal potency to all lesser errors, to all minor circumstances.

There were certain parties on the watch to foment any casual dissatisfaction which might arise. Foremost among these were the Muhammadan Court of the late dynasty at Lucknow and certain of the Hindu Talukdars of Oudh. In all probability the conspiracy, if not hatched, was inspired and organised from Lucknow, or from Oudh, under a remarkable man known as "the Moulvee." It was unfortunate that the agitation among the Sepoys on a caste question should have arisen in 1857, so soon after the annexation of Oudh, which took place in 1855. Further it so happened that several individuals powerless in the time of peace, but potent to strike in time of sedition, had recently been dealt with in a manner which they regarded rightly or wrongly as injurious and unreasonable. Had these not sided energetically with the rebels the course of affairs in their respective districts would have been very different from what it was. The policy of the Government in respect to the adoption of successors on failure of issue in Native States had no doubt disquieted public opinion. Too

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much stress must not be laid on this, because, after all, the principal Native sovereigns remained loyal; and the trouble in their States arose not from them, but from their mutinous soldiers or their turbulent vassals. Indeed the loyalty of the Native Princes was a steadying factor throughout the crisis.

It remains in conclusion to point the moral of this wondrous tale. Imprimis, the crucial error of having too small a proportion of European to Native troops has been rectified, and will never, in all probability, be repeated. The European strength has been augmented and the Native strength diminished. The European soldier is now as one to two Native soldiers instead of being as one to five or six or even eight. If, however, there should be any repetition of this error, then the old danger of 1857 may revive.

In those dark days many Britons asked themselves the question as to what would become of India, if the British Government should be the loser instead of the winner in the contest, if the British should be driven back on their three Presidency Capitals and their ships. These were indeed extreme suppositions, but, nevertheless, quite intelligible. Yet there would have been little doubt in the answer to be given by the best informed of Anglo-Indian statesmen. As a retrospect of some interest respecting the forces capable at that time, 1857-8, of moving Indian politics, it may be well to state what the then answer would have been. There

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were then existing at least five volcanic forces either slumbering though easily perceptible, or else showing signs of possible activity, namely, the Gurkha Nationality in the eastern Himalayas, the component parts of the Sikh States in the Panjab vanquished only nine years before, the Rajput States who had always held their own under any circumstance and even under the British suzerainty, the Mahratta element in the Western Ghaut mountain-range behind Bombay, and lastly the Arab chiefs of Arabian troops whom the Nizam of Hyderabad in the Deccan had for many years been summoning from Arabia to help him in showing a brave front before his masterful British allies, and who had become more his masters than his servants. Each one of these volcanic forces would have burst forth immediately after the disappearance of the British from the interior of the Indian continent and peninsula. The Gurkhas would have descended from the Himalayas near Nepaul to lord it over Behar (the first home of Booddhism), over Oudh and northern, eastern and middle Bengal, leaving southern Bengal only, and perhaps Orissa, to the powers in Calcutta. The reconstituted Sikh State in the Panjab would have occupied all the Delhi territory. A goodly part of the classic Hindustan would have formed a bone of contention between it and the Gurkhas. The Rajput States would have held their own. But they would have occupied the dominions of Sindhia and Holkar which were Mahratta exotics on Rajput

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soil. The Mahrattas would have strongly established themselves in their native mountains, the Western Ghauts, and would have occupied the Western Deccan. The coast territory known as Guzerat, together with the Gaekwar's territory at Baroda, would have remained under the Powers at Bombay. The Arab chiefs at Hyderabad would have dealt somehow with their nominal lord the Nizam, and would have set up their own kingdom there, controlling the remainder of the Deccan and the whole southern Peninsula except such parts as might be within reach of the powers at Madras. Such in general terms would have been the new partition of India, though some few Native States, isolated and inaccessible to these five Powers, might through their forbearance have preserved a sort of independence. From all these perils India was saved by that Providence which vouchsafed to the British a fresh tenure, more potent than ever, to be used for righteous ends.

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CHAPTER VII.

PRINCIPLES OF IMPERIAL ADMINISTRATION.

THE character, the progress and the constitution of the Indian Empire having been set forth in the foregoing Chapters, some account will in this Chapter be given of the principles by which the Imperial administration has been conducted during the nineteenth century.

Throughout the Empire there has always been the Reign of Law. All the changes heretofore described in the control exercised from England were sanctioned by Statute, that is by successive Acts of Parliament. The several Presidencies and Provincial Governments were from time to time sanctioned by the same authority. The administrative changes which have been mentioned were either sanctioned by law at the time, or afterwards received confirmation by law directly or indirectly. Within the Empire itself everything down to the minutest particular is done according to law. Everywhere have Courts of Justice been established, and their writs run to the remotest corners of the country. Nothing is done save what would have to be recognised by them; or, if anything be done otherwise, it is liable

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to dispute. The legislative machinery and the character of the legislation will be described hereafter. Meanwhile the general effect may be stated as above. Patriarchal rule has sometimes been written and spoken of in reference to India; but that, if it ever existed, has ceased to exist during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, if by a patriarch is meant a man who rules the Natives of India as the District Officer, in any one of the many districts mentioned in a foregoing Chapter, really well by his own personality and his own sense of justice, then there is enormous scope for him still, almost as much as there could ever have been in the days before the Reign of Law was settled. For with a population like that of India there is a well nigh indescribable difference to the people between an active and inactive, a vigorous and a feeble administrator. In his farewell words to India Sir John, afterwards Lord, Lawrence said that the prime object for District Administration, which is *par excellence* the administration for the Natives, is to obtain good men. With them even a defective legal system may be made to work well enough. Without them even the best legal system will fail in practice.

Nevertheless the Government of India, in the largest sense of the term, is a despotism, benevolent and enlightened no doubt, but still absolute. The maxim which has been mentioned in divers times and places, "everything for the people and nothing

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by them," has been applicable to India during the nineteenth century and still is so. To vindicate this maxim would need an examination of human nature in the East and of the circumstances of British Rule there. Its necessity will, however, be obvious from a glance at the spectacle of a vast population of Asiatics being subject to a Power far away across the sea, or the black-water in Oriental phrase, wholly alien in race, colour, creed, language, tradition and mode of thought.

In order to understand the manner in which this despotism is conducted, let all the most progressive, enlightened, philanthropic principles, all that conduces to freedom of action, of religion and of thought, to individual freedom, to equality of justice to all persons and classes before the law, all that concerns physical, mental and moral development, be recollected. These then are the rules which guide not only theoretically but practically the despotic governance of India.

Under British Rule the Natives have some share, but not a prevailing or a conclusive one, in the government of their own country. They have a voice, but not at all a decisive one, in the direction of public affairs. They hold seats in the several legislative Councils, but they are in a minority as compared with nominees of the Government. They form the majority in the Municipal Corporations, but these bodies are in the last resort under the control of the State. The principle of election has been cautiously

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and tentatively introduced, partially as regards the Legislative Councils, more fully as regards the Municipalities. District Councils for local purposes so far as they may be constituted will have elective and representative character. Otherwise it must be said that there are no representative institutions in India like those which exist in the Western Nations. The British Government does not presume to say that it is in the country by the will of the people, but by its own right arm under Providence, and by the acquiescence of the people. It does not venture to affirm more than acquiescence. It hopes for loyalty and endeavours to deserve as much, but doubts whether it receives or will ever receive that. Under these conditions, it cannot, in respect to the finances, the army, the frontier defences or in matters of essential justice, defer to Native opinion. Herein it is responsible to none save the British Sovereign, parliament and nation. In other respects it strives to govern in a manner acceptable to the Natives. It leaves them to the governance of their own social laws mostly sacred and ancient, and reserves its own legislation for the most part to affairs brought about by modern civilisation.

The dominant positions in the Civil Administrations must be, as they have been held, by Europeans. But the mass of Civil employees has ever been Native, and Natives have been more and more advanced to superior positions.

The acquiescence at least, if not the loyalty, of

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the people is most desirable, because the land and the people are vast, while the European rulers are few and scattered. That such acquiescence practically exists is shown by the extraordinary smallness of the Army in comparison with the population. The Army including Europeans and Natives, in the British territories proper exclusive of Native States, does not exceed 220,000 men of all arms. If the total of the population be assumed at two hundred and thirty millions, exclusive of Native States, then the Army total would give one soldier to every thousaud of inhabitants. This is a very low average rarely to be paralleled in any large country.

Civil and religious liberty is not professed in a fuller degree by any Western nation than by the people of India under British Rule. Never was it preserved under Native Rule as in the present time. Not only may every man worship according to his ancestral faith privately, but every section or party may conduct publicly rites, ceremonies, processions with such demonstration as they see fit, provided always that they do not thereby annoy the general population and do not come into conflict with any other sect. This proviso is, however, of importance because such conflicts have often broken out, and still do so, with a formidable violence and an animosity hardly conceivable by any one save those who have witnessed it. In such cases the British Government, without showing the slightest preference for either side, interposes impartially for the

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preservation of order, employing such force as is necessary; and indeed so bad are the cases sometimes that considerable power has to be exerted. The assistance which a Hindu ruler would give to the Brahmanic faith or a Muhammadan ruler to the Moslem faith, in the shape of grants from the treasury or endowments in land, is not given to either by the British Government; except that all private endowments are religiously guarded, and some public endowments in the shape of the right to collect the land revenue in certain villages, made by kings and emperors, have, after verification of title, been allowed to continue. Otherwise the British scrupulously hold aloof from the Native religions; and merely preserve neutrality. This neutrality it holds to be quite consistent with its open profession for itself of Christianity. On the other hand the Government gives no support to its own religion, Christianity, either for propagating or sustaining it among the non-Christian or heathen nationalities; except that it maintains an ecclesiastical establishment of the Church of England and defrays the charges of other Protestant Ministers and of some Roman Catholic priests for the sake of its own servants and soldiers. In this conscientious abstention it differs from every Native ruler that has existed in the country.

Inhuman rites, and actions which, though done under religious sanction, would yet come within criminal jurisdiction, it has suppressed, and so far

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has ultimately succeeded in carrying the best Native opinion with it. Otherwise it has been sedulously considerate to the customs, the forms, the prejudices, the caste distinction, among the Natives; except that it has never allowed such distinctions to bar the access to its own service.

No man can be arrested or detained without process of law; the possible proceedings in cases of alleged treason or sedition are jealously restricted. Since 1836 there has been full liberty of the Press both European and Native, including the Native newspapers sometimes appearing in English but more numerously in the vernacular languages. The amplest freedom for discussing any subject whatever including even the conduct of the Government itself is conceded to the Native Press, and the fullest use is made of this concession. But in circumstances where the Native Press has been treasonable or seditious in its utterances, there have been laws passed to render the repressive jurisdiction more summary than it would be under the ordinary codes. There is but one instance in which the Executive can proceed without legal process, namely this, that if a person be declared dangerous to British dominion, he may be deported by a warrant of the Governor-General, and of him alone.

It is this non-intervention in matters purely indigenous, this observance of customs and of everything time-honoured, this religious neutrality, this even and equitable administration of the law to all

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alike, this assurance of personal freedom in everything reasonable, that help to produce the popular acquiescence in British Rule, alien though it be, which has been just mentioned.

This happy result is also brought about by the peace which is maintained in a manner never known for some centuries, the sense of security, protection, and personal safety, the material benefits from public works and improvements, and the light taxation.

By public education, by precept and example of every sort, the British Government has since the middle of the century striven to impart to the Indians the ideas of Western civilisation, and all the knowledge moral and physical which has made the Western nations what they are. It has never shown the slightest fear as to what effect this might have on the disposition of the Natives towards foreign Rule. Performing its enlightened duty, and trusting to Providence, it has rejected any thought of leaving the Indians in ignorance in order to keep them loyal.

There is the same spirit of equity in the financial relations between Britain and India. On the one hand India pays nothing whatever in the shape of tribute to Britain. There are indeed Native Indian critics who erroneously affirm that she does, but then they misunderstand the circumstances of political economy. They merely notice the undoubted fact that India through her foreign Govern-

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ment on the spot remits a great sum annually to Britain, but that is either for value received or for service rendered. It largely consists of interest on capital raised in England to be laid out in India for her permanent benefit, that is, in railways and canals of irrigation. It consists to some extent in interest on debt contracted in England for war waged for the safety and pacification of India, as for instance the war of the Mutinies. It is for the cost of machinery and material in England relating to works beneficial to India. It arises partly from payments in pensions of many kinds payable in England to persons who have spent their active years and often shed their blood in the service of India. There are also some allowances agreed upon between the Governments in England and India for the training of European recruits for Indian service. The amount of all these payments is adjusted in gold, and consequently the sum which India must provide in silver, the only currency she now has, is becoming enormous at the relative value now existing between gold and silver, and has in recent years been a grievous burden on her finances. Still it is not, in any proper sense of the term, a tribute.

On the one hand while India gives nothing to Britain, yet on the other hand she receives nothing from Britain, and in that pecuniary sense she costs Britain nothing. In the fullest sense of the phrase she pays her own way. The salary and allowances of every European, from the Viceroy

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downwards, employed in her service are paid by her. The charges of the European troops on her establishment are defrayed by her. Even the expense incurred in London on her account, as for example that of the India Office, or in other words the Department of the Secretary of State for India, is charged to her. She contributes a fixed sum annually to the Admiralty in London towards the cost of the large naval squadron maintained in Indian waters. Thus the financial relations between Britain and India are quite even and equitable, without any undue favour either on one side or the other.

The advantages to India from the British connection are so all-pervading and so manifest that they need not be called to mind. The advantages to Britain for the Indian connection are also great, and are growing greater year by year, in the importation of Indian raw produce, in the Indian market for British manufactures, in the field for the employment of British capital, in the manifold occupations official and non-official afforded to British persons. Notwithstanding this, Britain grants no pecuniary aid to India, and perhaps some thinkers might at first sight consider that she ought to do so. Against any such idea it may be urged that the Eastern Empire is one of the causes which compel Britain to keep a supreme Navy at a cost which to any other nation would be overwhelming. In reference to this Britain demands no contribution from India, though Indian interests are vitally

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concerned therein. Again although India does pay for the European troops serving within her limits, some seventy-five thousand Officers and men, yet the maintenance of so large a force as that, several thousand miles off from home across the seas, is a severe tax on the military resources of the British Isles, so severe indeed that no military Power in the world except the British could possibly bear it.

Such are the principles publicly professed and acted on by the British Rulers, so far as circumstances admit of the practice being made conformable to the profession. In all countries there will be a difference between profession and practice. In few countries will that difference be found less than in India, and for this particular reason: so far as the Government can work through itself, its European Officers, and the best of its Natives, all goes as well as possible, humanly speaking. But it has for the most part to work through Native Indian agency, which in the early part of the century was deeply stained with all the faults incident to long protracted revolution, and was seldom if ever trustworthy. Even then the benefit from the change of Rulers was great. If the head, the chief, the principal, be honest, he will avail much, even though his subordinate be otherwise; and the latter state will be much better than the former when chiefs and subordinates were all dishonest together in their several degrees. But however good the chief may be, he cannot attain success in practice if agents simi-

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lar to himself are not forthcoming. And this is what actually befel the British administrators in the early part of the century. The improvement in the Native agency has subsequently been great, gradual indeed at first but quicker and quicker in each decade.

The guiding principles of British rule having thus been summarised, it remains to follow them further in the principal headings of administration. This will be done in the following Chapters, under the heads of legislation, law and justice, the landed interests, trade and communications, municipal reform, education and Christianity, revenue and finance, and in conclusion, the state of India in 1899.

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CHAPTER VIII.

LEGISLATION, LAW AND JUSTICE.

It has been already seen that throughout India the Reign of Law prevails. But this reign has been growing slowly, though surely, and has been gradually consolidated in the course of the nineteenth century.

In the eighteenth century, almost from the beginning of the East India Company's territorial rule, there were Regulations of a certain sort, and Local Courts for the Natives. But for the Company itself, for its European Officers and for its growing settlements, chiefly European, at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, there was but little of judicial authority or restraint by law. The consequence of this defect, at an epoch when the breaking up of an Asiatic Empire offered immense opportunities of acquiring gains more or less illicit, was the relaxation of the honourable bonds which ought to constrain a nation like the British in their rising career of empire. Public opinion in England demanded that measures should be taken for judicial and impartial supervision over the conduct of the Company's Officers and the European settlers. Consequently in 1774 the famous Supreme Courts were established for Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, as

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Presidency towns. These Courts followed the English law in the three settlements, and exercised exclusively a jurisdiction in all criminal charges affecting Europeans. On the principle *"boni judicis est amplificare jurisdictionem,"* they contrived by degrees to draw into their judicial net many cases of importance to the country. Thus they exerted an influence, for the most part salutary, on the conduct of affairs. Meanwhile the Company established a judicial system of their own, made Regulations which, though framed and promulgated by the Governor-General and his Executive Council, were really laws; and established Native Courts of justice in every District, under the supervision of European Judges drawn from their own Civil Service; and set up over all these Courts in each Presidency a Central or "Sudder" Court, also composed of Judges from the same Service. Though these Regulations were lay, as contradistinguished to professional, productions, they were for the most part admirably composed, and many of their Preambles serve as landmarks in the history of the young Empire. These Regulations, however, applied chiefly to administration and the functions of executive authorities. Besides these there were the systems of substantive law, belonging to the several creeds and nationalities of the Indian people. All these were referred to by the Company's judiciary, the principal of them being the Hindu law and the Muhammadan law. Both these systems of

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Civil law had originally a sacred origin, and had been maintained from the beginning of their respective nationalities in India. They related to marriage, inheritance, division of ancestral assets, the property of women, and many other concerns of social and domestic life. For the better interpretation of these laws, Hindu and Moslem officers were attached to the Courts, to whom points of law might be referred, while the facts were decided by the Courts themselves. In the Criminal Department the Muhammadan law was followed, with such modifications only as might be prescribed by the Company's Regulations. Thus the plan of judicial administration was very considerate towards the Native subjects of the Company, and was reasonably calculated to be popular with them.

Such was the condition of Law and Justice, which existed in the Company's territories at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and which was extended to new territories subsequently added immediately after their conquest or annexation. So it continued till 1833, when changes supervened.

In that year the Government in England decided that, besides the judicial system already established, a body of substantive law, criminal and civil, should be framed. A high commission for this purpose was appointed to sit in India, and a law-member was added to the Council of the Governor-General, in the person of the famous Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay. The first fruit of this was the prepara-

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tion of the well known Penal Code, which, after long consideration, was passed into law. In 1853 a Legislative Council was formally constituted in India, consisting entirely of servants of the Government. In place of this, during 1861, one supreme legislature for all India and several legislatures of secondary rank for certain divisions of the Empire, were established. These consisted partly of Government servants, and partly of non-official gentlemen, European and Native, nominated by the Government. The supreme legislature was the Council of the Governor-General, regulating for all matters which may affect the Empire at large and for all provinces which had not secondary legislatures of their own. Such secondary legislatures were in the first instance granted to the Governments of Madras and Bombay and to the Provincial Government of Bengal. They have been granted also to other Provinces of the Empire from time to time.

In 1861 a Commission was appointed in England to prepare drafts of law for the assistance of the Legislature in India. It consisted of Judges and Jurists of the highest position and authority. Then it prepared drafts of several comprehensive Bills such as the Civil Procedure, the Criminal Procedure, the Law of Contracts and of Evidence, and of other Bills. These with some modifications, and after full local consideration, were subsequently passed into law by the Legislature in India. On the whole, the legislation of India, which has touched numerous

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branches besides those mentioned above, may be described as far-reaching and fully sufficient. It may claim a high degree of excellence according to the standards of advanced nations. It has been the joint work of English lawyers, and Anglo-Indian administrators, non-official Europeans residing in India, and Natives chosen for character and intelligence. The Hindu and Muhammadan codes of law, having some antiquity and a sacred sanction, are still observed in all matters relating to marriage, inheritance, adoption and other matters purely social in the life of the Indian nationalities.

For the administration of laws thus enacted the judicial system has been rendered uniform for almost the whole Empire.

To ensure unity in the supervision of Civil Justice, both in the old Presidency Towns (Calcutta, Madras and Bombay) and in the interior of the country, the old Supreme Courts appointed by the Crown and the Central (or "Sudder") Courts of the East India Company were abolished and formed into the existing High Courts, in which the Chief Justices and some of the judges are English barristers, while the other Judges are members of the European judicial service of India, or are Natives selected for status and capacity. In the interior of the country the object has been, first, to place courts so as to be within a few miles of the homes of the people, next, to render the proceedings inexpensive to the suitors, and the decisions speedy.

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The European Judges have naturally enjoyed always the highest repute. The Native Judges, even up to the middle of the century, were not always highly esteemed by their own countrymen, nor were their Courts generally popular. But as their education, status, emoluments and prospects have been improved, so has their popularity and trustworthiness increased. The efforts which the British Government has made in the above respects have been rewarded fairly well by results.

The Natives are, as a people, litigious; indeed many of them seem to find in litigation under a settled rule that excitement which, under the old unsettled rule, they would have found in contests of another kind. The annual number of civil suits has been rising year by year all through the last half century; for example, in 1879 it stood at 1,500,000, in 1887 at 1,970,000, in 1896 at 2,200,000, showing that litigation increases together with the population. The value of the property litigated increases still faster. In 1879 it was stated at 14 millions sterling, in 1887 at 20 millions, and in 1896 at 30½ millions. These statistics throw light on the questions which have been sometimes debated as to whether there is wealth in the country and whether it is growing.

The fact that the acts of the Government itself and of the Officers may be submitted to the Courts of Justice, and that the State may be sued by any of its subjects in its own Courts, has an impressive effect on the Native mind as showing that all persons and corporations are equal before the law.

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For the prevention of fraud, forgery or the fraudulent alteration of documents, it is essential to establish a system of public transfers by means of registration. Ample provision for this has been made by the executive, and that has been based upon legislation.

A Native Bar has long existed, with credit, influence and emolument, and has grown into an important profession. Its practice has been mainly in the vernacular, and its pleadings have generally been in one or other of the Indian languages. But the number of Native barristers who plead in English will increase.

In respect to crime, the penal or criminal Code already mentioned has been for some time in full force throughout the Empire. It was declared by Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, a great English Judge and Jurist, to be the most complete system of criminal law in the world. It has added renown even to the illustrious name of Macaulay. It is supported by an equally excellent criminal procedure.

The rise and spread of Thagi (or Thuggee) was a lowering feature in the beginning of the century. The crime was in its perpetration simple, as it consisted in the waylaying and strangling of travellers and foot-passengers in lonely places for the sake of their money or valuables. Its significance arose from the combination of gangs operating in many parts of the country, and with inter-communication, obeying leaders, swearing in of members, using

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signals and watchwords, and animated by horrid superstition. By organised effort the Government had extirpated it in Central India, its original *habitat,* before the first half of the century was over. But after the annexation of the Panjab it was found to exist there also, and in that quarter it was finally extinguished. The Hindu rite of widow-burning would be treated as falling under the criminal law, and therefore has never been practised under British Rule. The same principle has always been applied to human sacrifices, but they were not stopped so immediately, being practised amidst hills and forests remote from the eye of authority. During the first half of the century gang robbery, with some considerable organisation and with armed violence, existed in most Provinces, though checked more and more from time to time. During the latter half it has been put down almost entirely. Female infanticide among proud clans who find it difficult to provide for daughters, has certainly existed, and though no effort is spared for its suppression, the facilities for secrecy are so great that certainty regarding such suppression is unattainable. The murders largely arise from conjugal infidelity and outraged honour. The bloody affrays that used to spring from disputes about boundaries of land have since the middle of the century ceased because of the complete settlement of all affairs relating to land. Setting aside the crimes which were produced by the protracted troubles to which British Rule succeeded,

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and which were gradually stopped as that Rule became established, the Indians are fairly well conducted. Though not free from, they are not addicted to, intemperance. The prevailing habits of temperance conduce to quiet behaviour.

Trial by jury, as practised in Britain, is an exotic plant which the British have not yet succeeded in acclimatising among the Indians. For Europeans accused of crime it is in vogue under the same conditions as in their native land.

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century the Police administration was not among the successful parts of British Rule. In the early part of the century stories strange, melancholy, even terrible sometimes, were, with some authenticity, related of it. But critics forgot that civilised and alien rulers cannot for a long time succeed in reducing to order a department like this, where all the evils of long-continued and revolutionary disturbance are sure to be peculiarly rife and rampant. The rulers must work through a native agency surely tainted with tyranny and corruption, and a generation must elapse before such taint could be got rid of. After some lapse of time, however, the original organisation had failed to answer expectation, so in the years of 1861 and 1862 a new organisation was introduced under the control of European Officers, and since then a marked amelioration has been perceptible. The Police force thus organised consists of 155,000*

* For this and any other statement of the most recent sta-

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men; and this number has hardly risen at all during the last two decades, though the population has sensibly increased.

Under Native Rule incarceration was not largely adopted, and the dungeons which existed were not worthy to be called prisons. Thus at the beginning of British Rule in the early part of the century prisons had everywhere to be improvised, and for some time continued to be very defective. But midway in the century inspectors of prisons, generally medical men, were appointed, and they laboured towards the same ends as those sought for by prison reformers in Britain. In the district prisons all things included in modern sanitation were introduced. Central prisons after the best known models were constructed. Prison labour was developed into organised industries within jail precincts, whereby many fine and useful fabrics were turned out. Even with all this, however, the health of Native prisoners, though much better than it used to be, is never quite satisfactory, as imprisonment has upon their nerve-system an effect more depressing than would generally be anticipated by Europeans. There are in all 494 jails, large and small, with 476,000 prisoners.

The prisoners sentenced for long terms or for life

tistics the authority is the "Statistical Abstract," published by Government in 1898. The numbers of the police here given are exclusive of the old Village Watchmen who are still retained.

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have many years been concentrated at Port Blair among the Andaman islands in the Bay of Bengal, which may perhaps prove to be the largest convict settlement in the world. The system there prevailing as the result of much humane and enlightened thought, the rigid discipline at first, the gradual relaxation afterwards, the preparation of the individual for ultimate freedom and a reformed life, are worthy of inspection by students from the most advanced countries.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE LANDED INTERESTS.

In all countries the agricultural interest is the largest of all interests, but in India it is almost overwhelmingly large. It comprises more than two-thirds, that is to say, the bulk of the whole population. In India it has throughout the nineteenth century depended first on the moderate and equitable assessment and collection of the land revenue, secondly on the due recognition and determination of the property, that is to say, the rights of ownership and occupancy in the land.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century all questions of ownership had for Bengal, Behar and Benares, been superseded by the creation of a landlord's property which had hardly existed before, with a limitation of the demand for land revenue in perpetuity, by what is known historically as the Permanent Settlement, though the subordinate rights of occupancy were entirely passed over. But for the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay and for all the British territories which were conquered or annexed at the beginning of the nineteenth century and in the several succeeding decades, the procedure in this fundamentally important matter was in this wise.

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The agricultural interest had for a long time been the chief sufferer in the political troubles. It had been sorely vexed, harried, harassed, ravaged; and was but too often in the very depths of depression. The first duty of the East India Company's Officers was to see that the husbandman sowed in safety and reaped in peace. The next thing was to assess the land revenue which had ever proved to be the mainstay of the Treasury. This was done at once in a rough and ready but still a moderate and considerate manner. A certain portion of the standing crop was taken, leaving enough to the cultivator to repay him the cost of cultivation and to afford him a livelihood. This was called "collection in kind," a plan manifestly open to waste and to divers abuses. It was superseded by a better plan of money payments as soon as might be conveniently practicable. The persons actually found in possession who were to pay it, as a condition of holding the lands, were provisionally registered, and the amount to be paid in cash was fixed for a short term of years, so as to give them some security of tenure to begin with. But no further enquiry into the rights and interests in land was attempted. These arrangements were called "summary settlements;" and under them the land revenue, then amounting to over twenty million sterling annually (or twenty crores of rupees according to the then relation between gold and silver) was collected and the affairs, of all affairs the most vital, to the great mass of the people, in the young Em-

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pire were conducted for the first three decades of the nineteenth century, that is, till about 1830. This was indeed a humble beginning, though it was much better than anything that had been known for at least two centuries previously. At first the British Government had not time for doing more, inasmuch as Providence had entrusted to it within a few years many provinces in a state of much disorder, and as it had to evolve order out of chaos in many different directions simultaneously. In 1822 the first step was seriously made for the better settlement of landed tenures in northern India by a Regulation which, though superseded by superior arrangements subsequently, still remains as a monument of wisdom in right and equity, for the time at which it was framed.

After 1830 a new era began in this great department, the Empire being in a fair way of consolidation, and wars having ceased. A policy was settled whereby the lands were to be fully surveyed, the rights and interests therein of all kinds were to be registered, and the land revenue due therefrom was to be assessed on favourable conditions for long terms of years. This gigantic task was to be undertaken for every province in the Empire, except Bengal, Behar, and Benares, which being under a Permanent Settlement, as will be explained, were left out. The experiment of the permanent or perpetual settlement of the land revenue demand in those provinces was not to be tried elsewhere. With

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this large exception, the task was virtually completed with the twenty years following, that is, by about 1850. As other Provinces were added, as the Panjab, Oudh, Nagpore, Burma and other districts, the same policy was extended to them. For this enormous operation the Trigonometrical and Topographical Surveys already undertaken furnished a complete basis. But to these were added Revenue Surveys, which ended in mapping out every field. The extreme magnitude of this operation will hardly be understood unless the mighty proportions and dimensions of the Empire be remembered. The land revenue was assessed for terms of twenty or thirty years, according to localities, either with the individual holder separately, or with the holders in a parish collectively (styled in literature "village communities,") on the understanding that they should divide the burden among themselves. Hand in hand with all this was the determination of all rights and interests in the lands, whether superior, subordinate or collateral. This was done judicially once for all, and the results embodied in an official registration not only for every parish, but for every field and for every person. This registration thus founded has been kept up year by year, with every succession, every change in the *personnel* of tenure of right of property, up to the present time. The register for every parish is in the hands of the Village Accountant, a hereditary official from ancient times. But a copy is transmitted yearly to

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the headquarters of the District Officer. When the difficulties are remembered that have in some of the most advanced countries attended the official and public registration of landed tenures and titles, it seems wonderful that the Indian Government should, by making a *tabula rasa* for itself, have in the course of twenty years settled all these problems conclusively and completely for the whole Empire, except Bengal, Behar, and Benares, which had been previously settled in another way. No measure ever undertaken by the British Government has gone so strongly to the very root of national prosperity as this. In justice to the East India Company it must be said that this all-pervading and beneficent measure was conceived, undertaken and executed in the main by them and their Officers, before the handing over of their great charge to the Crown. The policy was fully accepted by the Crown, and during the latter half of the nineteenth century has been scrupulously carried out.

Thus the property, the tenant rights, the occupancy tenures, in land have been secured by surveys, by judicial determination, by public registration. These had existed from ancient times, but had been often obscured, almost effaced or trodden under the iron heel, as already explained in Chapter II. Now they were made as strong and clear as monuments of granite. But such things would be more or less valueless unless the land revenue had been so moderately assessed as to give the men in possession

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a good margin of profit after defrayal of expenses for husbandry, a fair share of the gross produce so as to afford a comfortable livelihood. The process whereby taxation may be rendered confiscatory is manifest. When the exactions, direct and indirect, amounted to nearly half the gross produce, as was probably the case in some places at the worst times, then with this rackrent and oppression, the man in possession struggled on with the barest pittance from his industry, and his property, if such it could be called, was worth nothing. If the amount were one-third, he would still be poor and depressed though able, so to speak, to keep his head above water. If it were one-fourth, as was commonly the case immediately after British rule, or better still one-fifth, then he could live respectably and his property would be worth something. But now when under the settlements just described it ranges from four to eight per cent. only, fixed in money for long terms, the property is valuable. It is a good freehold, subject to no condition save that of paying the land revenue, with full liberty to sell, to transfer, to mortgage. It has an average annual income and its selling value is reckoned at many years of such income. Since the completion of the Settlements further steps have been taken to organise the Regulation, and it is found that seventy millions in Rs. X. (or tens of rupees) worth of property in lands and houses is thus transferred yearly.* This shows how entirely

* See Statistical Reports published by Government of India, 1898.

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the value of the property is appreciated by the people and how easily the system works.

As already seen, Bengal and Behar are under landlords (styled Zemindars) and in all Provinces territorial chiefs are found, especially in Oudh (where they are styled Talukdars). Elsewhere India may be described as a land of peasant proprietors. In all parts there are many cultivators or tenants with rights of several sorts. Even in Bengal and Behar such rights have grown up, and are now recognised by law. In no place are any rights existing without legal protection. In one part only has any difficulty arisen, namely the Bombay Deccan, where the peasant proprietors, finding their property to be a security acceptable to money lenders, lived beyond their means and fell into debt to an embarrassing extent.

In no respect is the superiority of British over Native Rule more unmistakable than in the management of landed affairs during the nineteenth century. The Land Settlements of that century will doubtless serve as an imperishable memento in the centuries to come.

Nevertheless there is an abiding enemy ever threatening the success of this immense achievement, and that is Famine. India depends on the rainfall from the vapour-masses, periodically coming from the seas and oceans, and called Monsoons. These frequently fail more or less, and according to the degree of failure is the mildness or the intensity of

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drought. If the drought be intense or widespread, famine occurs, mainly among the agricultural classes. Such famines have happened in all centuries, though naturally they have been recorded and observed more carefully in the nineteenth century than in any other. Towards the end of the eighteenth century there was dreadful distress from this cause on several occasions, notably in Bengal about the year 1770. From 1800 to 1872 drought with distress more or less approaching to famine occurred in thirty-three different years; affecting not of course the whole Empire but parts of it here and there. This frequency of recurrence has served as a warning to the Government. Up to this time the provincial authorities dealt with the distresses as best they could with assistance from the Central Government. In 1874 a still graver case occurred in Behar and parts of Bengal, and the Government, under the direction of Lord Northbrook, then Governor-General, accepted the responsibility of applying all its resources, financial and administrative, to saving of life from famine. This was effected with entire success, and at great cost. In 1877 a similar calamity befell Southern and Western India. The same measures were adopted and at equal cost, though the success was not quite so full, because epidemic sickness supervened upon famine. A still more widespread famine occurred in Northern, Western and Southern India in 1896–7. The calamity was encountered in the same manner and with a

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large degree of success on the whole. The gigantic efforts put forth on these really awful occasions by the Foreign rulers to save their people, must have made an indelible impression on the mind of the Natives.

These misfortunes cannot be averted by any system of irrigation which could conceivably be invented or adopted. But some protection against them can be afforded by works for irrigation. Under Native Rule these works usually consisted of large tanks; in Southern India the tanks are reckoned at sixty thousand; in Central India they are so large as to be artificial lakes. In Northern India there were some canals for special purposes rather than for the general use of agriculture. In the lower part of the Panjab and in Sind there were rough works called "inundation canals," which just caught the river water in the flood season. Otherwise there were no great irrigation works under Native Rule.

It was reserved for the British Government about the year 1840 and the subsequent years to undertake such works. The Ganges emerging from the Himalayas was taken captive by engineering works of the most arduous character, and led into a canal with about 500 English miles of main channel and about 5,000 miles of lesser channels. Similar works were carried out for the rivers of the Panjab; and for the Sone an affluent of the Ganges in Behar. The two rivers mentioned in Chapter I. as rising in the Western Ghaut mountains and break-

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ing through the Eastern Ghauts towards the sea, namely the Godavery and the Kistna, were similarly taken possession of as they emerged from the Eastern Ghauts; their waters were dammed up by mighty dams named Anicuts, and from the lakes thus formed networks of canals were drawn to fertilise the rich districts along the coast. A similar plan was adopted for Orissa. To the south a series of canals was drawn from the rivers Cauvery and Coleroon. A certain sum amounting to several millions of Rs. X. is provided by the State for the extension of irrigation works, as a protection against Famine. Canal dues are willingly paid by all those who use the water, and the sums thus received afford a fair percentage on the capital outlay by the State.

In connection with these matters, the subject of Forest Conservancy claims notice. With the many ranges of hills or mountains in the Continent and Peninsula, the land was by nature well endowed with forest, ensuring the water supply and maintaining some regularity of season. Much destruction of forests, "deforesting" as it is now termed, happened under Native Rule in the absence of any measures to prevent it. The same injurious process continued under British Rule for the first half of the nineteenth century. Though measures were adopted in 1844, yet nothing effectual on a large scale was done till about 1860. Since then efforts have been made with a result that there are now 80,000 square miles of forests well preserved under State agency, and

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35,000 square miles in a secondary degree of preservation or 115,000 square miles in all.* There is a highly trained Department of Forestry; the gross annual receipts collected in the forests amount to $1\frac{3}{4}$ million of Rs. X., and the expenditure is equal to about half that amount. Thus there is a fair profit to the State, which, however, yields in importance to the benefit which accrues from the improvement in climatic conditions for the country at large.

The ascertainment of all that relates to the area of the lands of the Empire is secured by five great Surveys, the Great Trigonometrical, fixing the highest altitudes and determining absolutely the positions of the principal places, the Topographical portraying the diverse features of the ground everywhere, the "Revenue" and the Cadastral (or Field) presenting the minutest particulars for the Land Settlements just described; the Geological which has examined the geology for almost the whole Empire. These Surveys in the magnitude of their spheres, in their scientific precision, in their practical value, are among the administrative monuments of the British Government in India.

* See Reports on Moral and Material Progress of India, published in 1898.

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CHAPTER X.

TRADE AND COMMUNICATIONS.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the communication by land, throughout the young Empire, was of a character entirely primitive. Road-making, in the modern sense of the term for Europe, had never been thought of by the Native rulers of India. Roads of sorts indeed existed, but they were nothing more than tracks broader or narrower, straighter or more sinuous, according to circumstances.

These conditions, however, were not in India so grievous as they would be in climes like that of northern Europe, where rain, light or heavy, is frequent at all seasons. The Indian roads, or tracks, were indeed impassable for four months in the year, from June to October, the rainy season. But that was universally provided for, and by common consent traffic by land was suspended. For the remaining eight months of the year the tracks with dry soil and generally rainless weather were passable enough for wheeled traffic, and were extensively used.

By water the communications were, and always had been, far better. In Northern India the Ganges and its great affluents were the arteries and

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highways of commerce. In North-Eastern India, that is in the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, the boat traffic was magnificent, and the business became more active as the rivers rose in the flood season, that is from June to October. For Western and Southern India the principal trade was along the two lines of coast, one on the west, the other on the east. The coasting vessels were numerous and excellent craft; and here the service of communication by sea was very fine.

For many years the East India Company with its more pressing avocations had to be contented with the communications as it found them. They sufficed for the trading classes who had never known anything better. They allowed of the passage of gun-carriages and military stores during two-thirds of the year. So no marked improvement was attempted till about 1830, when, on the consolidation of the Empire, a change in this department, as in several other departments, set in.

A Grand Trunk Road was begun from Calcutta to Delhi through the Gangetic plain, a distance of about 1,400 miles. It was carried on, after the annexation of the Panjab to the Indus. From this a great branch ran from the Ganges near Allahabad to the Nerbudda Valley and on towards Bombay. From Bombay two similar roads ascended the Western Ghaut mountains by fine engineering works, one towards Central India, the other towards the plateaux of the Deccan on the way to Madras.

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Then from Madras a road was taken towards the Southern Peninsula with a branch ascending the Nilgiri mountains. From these arteries were conducted veins of communications in many directions. These trunk lines were macadamised and bridged at all points, save the great rivers, like the Ganges, and these were some of the finest roads that have been seen anywhere save in the Roman and Napoleonic Empires. They are to be included among the achievements of the East India Company.

Scarcely were they completed when the era of Railways for India set in. The plans of the Railways were very much on the lines just described for the roads. The object was to connect the three Presidency Capitals, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay with each other; and to connect Bengal with the North-West frontier. Two sections had been opened before the Indian Mutiny broke out, one near Calcutta and one near Allahabad on the Ganges, and most useful they were at that crisis. After those events had subsided, the making of Railways advanced apace at the rate of many hundred miles a year. Besides the first lines already sketched, the northern districts have been connected with the Ganges, Calcutta with Assam in the Brahmaputra, the Panjab with the mouths of the Indus; a straight line from Bombay has been taken across the Continent via Nagpore to Calcutta. At the present time 21,000 miles are open to traffic; and the total rises by several hundreds every year. In this is included

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the Burmese lines right up the Irawaddy Valley to Mandalay.

At first the Railways were constructed and managed by private Companies formed in England, on whose capital a minimum rate of interest at 5 per cent. was guaranteed by the Government of India; of these one was for the Bengal Presidency under the style of "The East India"; one for Madras, under that name; two for Bombay, named "the Great Indian Peninsula" and "the Bombay Baroda and Central India." The "East India" has since been purchased by the State; while the other companies still remain. The other lines are State Railways in the full sense of the term, and some few are "assisted." It is remarkable that some few, including about 2,000 miles, belong to the Native States, which found the capital and manage the lines.* The total amount expended on the Railways amounts to 251½ millions of Rs. X. (or tens of rupees), of which 50½ millions pertain to the Guaranteed Companies and 201 millions to the State, that is to the British Government. The capital was almost entirely raised in England. The lines pay on the whole about five per cent.

The Railways have added vastly to the military power of the Government. They have enormously promoted the exportation of raw produce conveyed from great distances, in the interior to the coast;

* See Reports of Moral and Material Progress of India, published in 1898.

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and this has been especially the case with wheat, the exportation of which at low prices has affected the value in the markets of England. They have been used immensely by the Natives without reference to caste distinctions; and the passenger traffic is as large as could be expected from an Oriental population; but as yet far from being proportionate to what it would in any Western nation with white races.

The foreign ocean-borne commerce of India in the middle ages filled a space in the imagination of mankind. In recent times it has been one of the beacon lights to which all believers in the progress of the country will point with satisfaction. It binds Britain to her Eastern Empire with ties of mutual interest.

But at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and almost up to the middle of it, this trade was borne by the historic "East Indiamen" passing round the Cape of Good Hope, some of the finest, if not the very finest, sailing vessels known in the annals of the world's commerce. In their day they carried, besides their freight, the heroes and statesmen who built up kingdoms for Britain, and the despatches from London fraught with the destinies of many an Eastern nationality. They still exist, though reduced greatly in numbers and perhaps even in size. In poetic phrase it may be said that they have sailed away into darkness carrying their mighty record with them.

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The importance of the sailing ships was first lessened soon after 1840 by the Peninsula and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, which has played a memorable part in the economic history of India, and which carried by the Overland route through Egypt and the Red Sea all the mails and the treasure, most of the passengers and some among the most portable and valuable articles of trade. Still however the mass of the trade, consisting of cheap and bulky articles, continued to pass by the sailing vessels round the Cape of Good Hope.

The produce of India sent to Britain was the main portion of the trade. The return traffic of British manufactures sent to India was not in those days at all so developed as it has since become. Consequently a strange phenomenon used to occur, namely this, that the sailing vessels often, perhaps even generally, arrived at the Indian ports without much mercantile cargo, but were freighted with rubble. Now this rubble consisted of excellent stone, chiefly, as was generally understood, from Norway; and the stone broken up would be used for macadamising the roads in Calcutta. This circumstance is just one of those landmarks which indicate the steps by which Indian commerce has advanced.

The next blow to the importance of the sailing vessels arose from the opening of the Suez Canal to maritime commerce in 1869, from the simultaneous development of steam navigation and from the special adaptation of steamers to the passage of

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the Canal and the Red Sea. To the completion of the great change thus wrought, the establishment of Electric Telegraph lines between India and Europe largely contributed. Most of the trade between Europe and India is thus conducted. On the other hand steamers of a different build have in recent years been constructed to ply round the Cape of Good Hope and to carry much bulky traffic. The eyes of many thoughtful people are turned to this particular mode of communication as likely to prove an immense addition to the resources of Britain in the event of certain emergencies arising.

The old boat traffic in the mid-valley of the Ganges has been virtually destroyed, mainly by the abstraction of the water for irrigation, and has been much affected in the lower valley by the competition of the Railways. But it has been amazingly developed in the Eastern Bengal, that is in the valley of the Brahmaputra and its affluents. The rigging and build of the Native craft afford striking spectacles. The skill and presence of mind evinced by the Native watermen are remarkable, and at several points the collection of boats forms floating marts and cities.

The old coasting trade in Native craft is still maintained, but has in some degree been superseded by the steamers of the British India Steam Navigation Company which has played a considerable part in Indian commerce.

The history of Indian trade is somewhat intri-

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cate and diversified, therefore nothing more than a summary can be attempted here. In the two centuries preceding the nineteenth century the only commercial rivals of the English were the Dutch, who really were traders. The Portuguese thought of proselytism and ambition more than trade; the French of ambition almost entirely, and but little of trade. However, by the opening of the nineteenth century the Dutch, the Portuguese, the French had all departed, from one cause or another, and left the commercial field, as all other fields in India, in the possession of the English alone. In 1800 the East India Company had a monopoly of the trade, and the amount thereof at that moment would be the basis from which to reckon the mighty increase which has since taken place. It is not easy to state this from any published returns to which reference could be made. According to Sir William Hunter,* about 1772 the annual sales at the India Office in London amounted to three millions sterling, and that affords some index to the trade. In the Custom House returns the totals used to be given for India and China together. On the whole the total for the trade of India alone by 1800 must have been over five millions sterling but less than ten millions. Soon after 1830, when the Company's monopoly was abolished, the total amounted to thirteen millions sterling annually. When the trade was thrown open to general enterprise this total grew fast and before 1840 had

* See *The Indian Empire*, p. 444.

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risen to twenty-one millions annually. Then by 1899 it had mounted up to more than two hundred millions Rs. X.; in other words within sixty years, that is between 1839 and 1899, had multiplied ten-fold. This may have been equalled or surpassed in the history of other commercial nations, though in all probability not often. At all events the ratio of increase will on all hands be acknowledged as very large, and as highly creditable to both the peoples concerned, the British and the Indian.

From a British, indeed from a European, point of view, it was and is still to be desired that India should send her staples of industry which consist of raw produce, to Britain or to Europe, and should receive in return the British or European staples which consist of manufactures. But this is just what India did not do fully for a long time, and what she has not done quite completely even yet, though she does it much better now than she used to do. One reason was this, that during the earlier part of the century British manufactures were not nearly so much developed as they afterwards became. Sir William Hunter states the case in a popular form for the five years ending 1879.* "India had more to sell to the world than she had to buy from it. During the five years, the staples which she exported exceeded by an average annually of over £21,000,000 (sterling) the merchandise which she imported. One-third of this balance she

* See *The Indian Empire*, p. 491.

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received in cash, and she accumulated silver and gold at the rate of £7,000,000 per annum. With another third she paid interest . . . for the capital (raised in England) with which she had constructed the material framework of her industrial life. . . . With the remaining third . . . she paid the home charges of the Government to which she owes her peace and security." This explanation regarding the adjustment of the balance of the Indian trade is as accurate as it is popular. The nature of the home charges above mentioned has been set forth at the end of the previous Chapter VII. For the time before 1874 the then Finance Minister of India drew up an official statement of the balance of trade between India and foreign countries (then mainly represented by Britain) from 1835, when the trade was thrown open to the public, to 1871—a space of thirty-six years. The value of merchandise exported from India amounted to one thousand millions sterling; the value of merchandise imported into India to five hundred and eighty-three millions, showing an excess value of four hundred and seventeen millions in the exports. This truly was a vast balance to be adjusted. Such adjustment was shown to have been effected by a net import of treasure amounting to £275,000,000. The payments from India to England on Government account amounted to £113,000— for the home charges already mentioned. This reduced the balance to £41,000,000, which were to be

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accounted for mainly by freight, that is payments due for maritime conveyance, and partly by private remittances. Thus the peculiar conditions of the Indian trade up to the last twenty years of the century, that is to 1880, may be understood. Before 1899 however they have become more normal, and so to speak more natural. Of the two hundred millions worth of annual trade, the imports into India nearly, though not quite, equal the exports from India. The totals fluctuate naturally, and during 1897 and parts of 1896 and of 1898 the exports were abnormally reduced owing to the famine then prevailing. For the two years preceding that event and the best yet known the exports from India were valued at 117 millions and 118½ millions. The highest annual value of imports into India annually have been 93 millions and 95 millions. Thus at the best there is still some balance to be adjusted of which the adjustment follows the lines already laid down.

In this trade, a new factor arose and is still growing. Formerly the trade of India was almost entirely with the British Isles and with China. Latterly this proportion has been modified, and in round numbers it may be said that about 60 per cent. of the Indian trade is with the British Isles and 40 per cent. with the rest of the world. It is remarkable that in recent years America has been largely entering into this trade.

The exports of British goods to India are valued

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in England at thirty millions sterling annually, an amount greater than that of such exports to any other country. Among these exports, cotton goods hold the first place, but iron and other metals, plant and machinery are also conspicuous. The amount of British money laid out in India has been reckoned at 600 millions sterling, including the Indian national debt, the outlay on railways and canals of irrigation and the sums invested in private enterprises by Europeans. The interest annually of this great sum goes mostly to the British Isles. Of the shipping engaged in the Indian trade about fifteen-sixteenths are under the British flag. Nearly 3½ millions of tons of British shipping are thus employed, being equal to one-third of the British shipping engaged throughout the globe. Thus in various ways India is one of the best customers that Britain has in the world.

Of the exports from India to other countries valued at 93 millions for 1898, according to the *Statesman's Yearbook,* 25 millions consisted of articles of food and drink, 10 millions of chemicals and drugs, and 37 millions of raw materials. The articles of food were rice, wheat and seeds, and the fact that India, despite her teeming population, could spare, and chose to send away for her own advantage, this vast quantity of edible produce, shows how in ordinary years she grows more than enough sustenance for her people. The production of tea in India with British capital and supervision has become a

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noteworthy circumstance. Up to the middle of the century India had hardly any tea and China had a virtual monopoly. Nowadays India quite rivals China as a tea-producer, and has in a prevailing degree the command of the British market. The raw material above mentioned includes mainly the fibres, cotton, jute, hemp and hides with horns.

The European enterprises consist of tea plantations on a large scale amidst the mountain valleys on the north-eastern border of India, of the cotton factories chiefly in Bombay, of the jute factories at Calcutta, of some coal mines capable of indefinite development, and of iron mines perhaps in their infancy. There is still existing a goodly part of the old indigo industry producing the best of dyes.

In connection with the subject of this Chapter, some mention must be made of the Post Office and the Electric Telegraph.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the Post Office in India was arranged on the same principles as that of the British Isles, and had its prevailing faults, namely variable charges according to distance, uncertainty in the minds of correspondents as to what the postal charges would be, the only certainty being that the cost would be high even for the well-to-do and almost prohibitory for the poor. But shortly before 1850 a uniform charge of one anna (one sixteenth of a rupee) was fixed for a letter of a specified weight for any distance throughout India. Thus the anna postage (one sixteenth of a

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rupee) exactly resembled in principle the penny postage of the British. This led to the substitution to a large extent of the public post for the various modes of private transmission of letters then in vogue among the Natives. In1856 just before the outbreak of the Mutinies the Post Offices in India hardly exceeded 750. By 1898 the number had risen to 26,900. The annual number of letters and despatches is nowadays about 500 millions. This number is absolutely large and shows a vast increase. But it is relatively small, as will be seen from the fact that the number of letters in the British Isles annually is 2,000 millions for a population about one-eighth that of India.*

Very soon after 1850 the Electric Telegraph was introduced into India; it has now ramified all over the Empire, and transmits over five millions of paid messages in a year. This number, though evincing much progress, is yet small relatively, as will be seen from the fact that the corresponding number for the British Isles amounts to 88 millions. Since 1865 there has been telegraph communication between India and England by two routes, one submarine by the Red Sea and Egypt, the other by Persia and so through south-eastern Europe.

* See *Statesman's Yearbook*, 1899.

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CHAPTER XI.

MUNICIPAL REFORM.

THE municipal idea, and the municipality as an institution, are prominent in British rule towards the end of the nineteenth century. They had not such prominence in the early part of the century and they never had it under Native rule during previous centuries. But it would be incorrect to suppose that they had no place at all in Native thought and practice. Certainly there is no name more time-honoured, more proverbial, more popular in India than that of Panchâyat or Panch. This represents an institution existing from time immemorial both in town and country. Now the Panchâyat, called for the sake of brevity Panch, is exactly what in English would be termed a local committee. As the name implies the number of the members must originally have been five; but like the committees of other countries, it always had the power of adding to its numbers. The Panch then in all ages was wont to settle many things in the villages and was always more or less effectively operative. Whether it was equally operative in the towns may be doubted. But it always existed there also, though in a lesser degree. It thus familiarised the Native mind with

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the notion of management of affairs through local committees. It is the germ of that which has grown into numerous municipalities scattered throughout the Empire.

During the early part of the century the overworked British Officers were doubtless obliged to leave the Panch Committees in the towns and other places to conduct local improvements as they best could under whatever system might be practicable. At the British stations, each one of which was a small European settlement, with the Public Officers in every District, there were formed Local Committees from the first to manage the roads in the neighbourhood. By degrees their work was extended to the roads, then quite primitive, in the whole district. This procedure, if such it might be called, may have lasted till about 1840—and in the absence of fixed system, it may be surprising on a retrospect to find how much was done by the improving zeal natural to British people for beautifying, by arboriculture and the like, the stations where they resided, and for adding something of amenity to the Native cities which were always in this vicinity.

After 1840 this work became more and more systematised. The organisation of the Local Committees was improved and some road cesses began to be levied. In the towns and cities especially the British Officers began to undertake drainage and sanitation, to open out streets, to clear open spaces, to pave the roadways, to enlist the aid of the towns-

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people in improving the appearance of the places where they lived. Year by year this procedure was developed everywhere up to the middle of the century.

Then the lead was taken, as it ought to be, by the three Presidency Capitals, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Municipal Corporations were constituted by law, the elective system was introduced with as much success as could be expected in communities where the principle was new, and local taxation was raised by rates on rateable property as is done in Europe. Power was also taken to raise loans in the market on the security of the rates. From that time to the present the results in all three capitals have been remarkable. Drainage systems of the most extensive character were carried out, notwithstanding the special difficulties from the level area at each of the Capitals which afforded no natural fall in the ground. In each case much success was attained, though frequent alterations have been found necessary. Far from decisive success was secured in respect of the water-supply which was originally wanting both in purity and in sufficiency. For Calcutta the water was pumped up with engines from the river Hooghly into filtering beds, and thence conducted by pipes over a length of fourteen miles to the distributing machinery in the city. For Bombay the water is stored in artificial lakes, some in wooded hills and one at the foot of a mountain range many miles distant. For Madras the

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water comes from a lake formed in a low natural basin with a dyke of remarkable length, breadth and solidity. For these several works the dimensions are magnificent according to any standard in the most advanced country. Works of the same kind, though less in degree, have been executed at all towns of any size throughout the Empire, almost without exception. Such works as these in their vast aggregate form a monument of British Rule during the latter half of the nineteenth century as evincing real care for the health of the people. By such means cholera, which was once endemic, has been rendered sporadic and occasional, pests of mosquitos have been prevented and many diseases mitigated. Artificial lakes for irrigation have always been known in India, as has been shown in a previous Chapter. But the formation of them for the supply of drinking water and for sanitation in cities and towns is a characteristic feature of British Rule.

The development of municipal life in the Empire is one of the hopeful signs which have become visible during the last two decades of the century. The case is put fully in the last "Moral and material progress Report," published in 1898 by the Government.

"Throughout India the cities and large towns manage their own local affairs, through the agency of Commissioners or Committees appointed from among the citizens. The municipal bodies exist,

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raise funds, and exercise powers under enactments which provide separately for the special requirements of each province, and of the three presidency capitals, Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. In most places the majority of the Commissioners or Committees are elected by the townsfolk under legal rules, but in every town some, and in a few minor towns all the members, are appointed by the Government. In almost every municipal body one or more Government officials sit as members; the number of Indian and non-official members, however, everywhere exceeds the number of Europeans and officials. The municipal bodies are subject to the control of the Government in so far that no new tax can be imposed, no loan can be raised, no work costing more than a prescribed sum can be undertaken, and no serious departure from the sanctioned budget for the year can be made, without the previous sanction of the Government; and no rules or by-laws can be enforced without similar sanction and full publication.

"The sources of municipal revenue are, mainly:—

House tax.
Tax on rent.
Octroi duties.
Bazaar or market rents.
Carriage tax.
Water rates.
Conservancy rates.
Rents of public lands and properties.

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Public gardens and parks.

"The objects on which Municipal funds can be spent are mainly water supply, hospital and dispensary, streets and roads, vaccination, drainage, sanitation and education. Municipalities do more for the benefit of their citizens under these heads than was done before by Government officers; and the Commissioners or Committees generally evince diligence and public spirit in the performance of their honorary duties."

This statement indicates a happy progress to those who remember what these places used to be in the middle of the century. But further as a new phase of municipal existence a network of District and Local Boards has been spread nearly over the whole Empire within the last fifteen years. A brief description of these in the above-mentioned Progress Report in 1898, may be here quoted.

"The constitution of District Boards with precise powers and responsibilities under the law took place more recently than the creation of municipalities; but in most provinces district committees had for many years given assistance or exercised control in the administration of local roads, local hospitals, and local schools. In all the more advanced provinces District Boards are now constituted under different enactments. In Madras, the Boards have the power of proposing local taxation, and in Bengal they are empowered to decide at what rate within the legal maximum, the road cess shall be levied in

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each district; but for the most part the District Boards do not possess powers of taxation; they administer funds, or the yield of specific imposts, made over to them for expenditure on roads, schools, hospitals and sanitation, within their jurisdiction. In most provinces the District Boards delegate much of their detailed work to sub-divisional, or minor boards, which are constituted under the law, and are responsible for sub-divisions or parts of a district."

The magnitude of the work done by these institutions, which constitutes one of the first attempts under the British Rule to introduce self-government into India may be seen thus. The total number of organised municipalities (generally by legislation) in the Empire was 757 in 1898, the townspeople affected by this operation were sixteen millions, their annual receipts amounted to 4½ millions (Rs. X.) and their expenditure nearly equalled that sum. In the latter were included 410,000 (Rs. X.) which shows that their debt incurred on the security of the rates must be standing at 10 or 12 millions. Of Local and District Boards there are 1,066 with 16,336 Members of whom upwards of 6,000 are elected and the remainder nominated. The funds at their disposal for the year 1896 amounted to 3¾ millions (Rs. X.).

Such is the beginning of local self-government by the Indians under British Rule, and it will assuredly grow from decade to decade.

The custody of the principal harbours, and the

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administration of the affairs of the port and the shore are placed by law in the hands of Port Commissioners, who are generally appointed by the Government. Thus there are constituted Port Trusts for the five main harbours or Ports, Calcutta, Bombay, Kurrachi, near the mouth of the Indus, Rangoon in Burma, at the mouth of the Irawaddy, and Madras, formerly an open roadstead for which an artificial harbour has recently been formed by constructing a pier. The income from port dues and other receipts stands at upwards of a million (Rs. X.) annually. The total value of the trade of these five ports may be stated at 175 millions (Rs. X.) annually. Formerly Bombay was equal to, if not ahead of, Calcutta; but of late years Calcutta has been taking the lead, and the proud position of Queen of all eastern seas will have been probably secured to her by the recent misfortunes of Bombay from pestilence and famine.

There are several Hospitals and Charitable dispensaries in each of the 250 large administrative districts into which British India is divided as already seen in Chapter V. Of these useful institutions there will now be about 1,300. They receive perhaps half a million of indoor patients in a year and afford out-door relief to many millions. Despite any prejudices which they might be supposed to have, the Natives appear to confide in, and to highly prize, European advice and medicine. Of European surgery they naturally have the highest opinion, and have

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often had cogent reasons for being grateful to it. The opening of these Dispensaries on the remote Frontiers among wild tribes, and the kindly help thus afforded, has always been found to have a good effect politically. Further, these institutions illustrate Western science and charity, while affording a wide scope for Native medical practitioners among their own countrymen.

Vaccination has constantly been preached from the early part of the century, and in particular districts or localities where it can be made nearly universal, the effects have been so beneficial, that they have caused grateful amazement among the suffering Natives. Practically no objections to the measure have been raised among the Native community. Inasmuch as with all their efforts the authorities have not succeeded in making it universal in every locality throughout the Empire, smallpox still exists, though vastly less than in former times. Epidemics of cholera have been greatly reduced by the sanitary measures of the time, though occasional cases occurring almost everywhere prove the need of ceaseless vigilance. The fell disease having given terrific warning in places where vast multitudes had been gathered together for several days consecutively, the strictest discipline has been authoritatively insisted on throughout all the great pilgrimages which the Hindus attend in their tens, even hundreds of thousands. At Bombay there occurred a most severe kind of fever, the researches into which caused one

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of the first revelations of infinitesimally minute organisms in the blood. Apart from the preventable and in some sense intelligible diseases, there have been some long-protracted outbreaks of which the origin and the remedy prove undiscoverable and which baffle all theories of causation. Such was the "Dengue" fever, of ominous memory, where a fine population, in a part of Bengal, wasted tediously away for several years. Such is the bubonic plague, which visited India for the first time in 1897, after the widespread famine, which desolated many localities temporarily, which attacked Bombay and despite all sanitary precautions that science could devise and authority could execute, still clings to that city, and not only decimates the population by mortality, but also by panic and dispersion of inhabitants inflicts on industry such injuries as can hardly be repaired in this generation.

Though the population fast increases, as early marriage is well-nigh universal, and though an infinity of good is done, by clearance of rank vegetation, by drainage of the ground, by purification of water supply, and by sanitation of every kind, in confirming the strength of the people and prolonging their lives, still the public health in India would hardly be considered good according to the standard prevailing in Europe or in any region inhabited by white races. The Indian death-rate varies much in different districts and in different years. In a good district and in a good year it may range from 22 to 25

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per thousand; where the conditions and the times are less favourable, then from 25 to 29; and not infrequently it may rise above 30, while it rarely falls to 20 or to anything below that.*

The measures adopted for forming a medical profession among the Natives, being of an educational character, will be mentioned in a subsequent Chapter.

* See Indian Statistics, published by Government in 1898.

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CHAPTER XII.

EDUCATION AND CHRISTIANITY.

EDUCATIONAL darkness did indeed brood over the land in the beginning of the nineteenth century. This was partly owing to the protracted troubles which had been afflicting the country. But it is by no means to be inferred therefrom that education was unknown in India, though the idea of what is now known as Public Instruction was hardly realised under Native rule. The systematic education was really religious. For Hindus it was conducted within the precincts of the temples by professors termed Pandits, and in the Sanskrit, a dead language used for sacred purposes, but which afforded the same advantage for learning the vernacular that Latin affords for learning English. In reference to the thousands of temples in the country, the special instruction thus conveyed must have been considerable. For Muhammadans it was given within the mosques by professors named Moollahs, mostly in the Arabic so far as the Koran was concerned, but partly also in Persian and in the Indian vernaculars also. During the flourishing days of Moslem rule, both in the separate kingdoms which flourished before the Mogul Empire, and under that Empire itself, stately col-

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leges had been erected and fully equipped for imparting Oriental knowledge generally. But these had been deserted and even desolated after the downfall of that Empire, and many fine ruins remained to attest the education which once had been. In many parishes there were small village-schools of a humble character. For the middle and upper classes there was naturally a fair amount of domestic instruction. For the widely extended classes of bankers there was a technical education fully effective for that particular profession.

These conditions existing at the outset in the nineteenth century lasted till about 1825. After that time enquiries began to be made in regard to the existing village-schools and the best means of improving them. A report by W. Adam on such schools in Bengal is a landmark respecting the origin of elementary education in India. The Government, too, bestirred itself on behalf of superior instruction. But it was to some extent at least to be Oriental, and to be afforded to the Natives in their own learning and philosophy, in their own languages, and through their own professors. This policy prevailed till after the year 1830, and a Board of Education was formed. The famous T. B. Macaulay (afterwards Lord Macaulay), having come out from England to Calcutta in a legislative capacity, was nominated a member of this Board. It was then that he wrote his celebrated Minute to the effect that in so far as Oriental teaching might

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be imparted it must be shorn of its errors and absurdities in respect of philosophy, history and geography; that the State education should be formed after the model of Western civilisation, and that, though the teaching machinery might be Native, yet the guidance and the supervision should be European. The subsequent policy of the Government was based on this principle.

Meanwhile little had been done during the century for female education, and probably just as little in the preceding centuries. Despite their illiterate seclusion, it is surprising to recall how many examples of energy, heroism, fortitude, capacity and active benevolence, have been evinced by Native Princesses, and other highly-placed women, in the annals of India. It was not however till 1834 that the Society for promoting Female Education in the East endeavoured, through its lady Missionaries, to approach the homes and enter cautiously the apartments among the upper and middle classes of India. By graceful and gentle effort some success has been won. This enterprise has since been followed up by other Protestant Societies at various dates up to the present decade. Medical ministration, too, has been added to religious teaching. For the girls of the other classes the modicum of success attained in the open schools will be hereafter stated.

Between 1840 and 1850 some successful efforts were made in northern India to establish village schools by the Lieutenant-Governor, James Thoma-

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son, who came thus to be regarded by many as the father of primary or elementary education. About the same time similar measures were taken in Southern India also. On the whole, during this decade, the spirit of educational governance was awakening throughout the wide dominion.

It was in this decade too that an educational step was taken of the utmost importance, namely the founding of Medical Colleges at the three Presidency Capitals for the instruction of Native Indian students in Western science. To these were afterwards added many medical schools. Then to the Colleges were attached Hospitals on the largest and finest scale. Students and candidates of zeal and aptitude resorted in large numbers to these institutions. Thus about the middle of the century a Native medical profession trained in Western science was set up, with influence and popularity, and with much appreciation from the mass of their countrymen. This enabled the Government to augment the number of medical institutions, and to establish dispensaries throughout the interior of the country. All this constituted one of the first of the administrative monuments raised by British Rule in India.

It was in 1854 that Sir Charles Wood (afterwards Viscount Halifax), then Minister for India in London, transmitted officially a memorable despatch providing for a complete system of National education in India, from the humblest to the highest

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grades, that is primary or elementary, secondary and superior, from the village school up to the University. This was based upon the European models which were coming into vogue. The principles then set forth are from beginning to end still in force, and the despatch is regarded as the charter of national education in India.

The leading principle of this great measure was in accordance with the idea which then prevailed and still prevails in England. Financial assistance was to be given to all private institutions of all grades, which then existed or which might thereafter come into existence; and this was termed State-aid to be afforded on application under certain conditions of inspection and examination. Many colleges belonging to Natives and Native associations, to Missionary Societies both Roman Catholic and Protestant, were very soon assisted in this way, not at all with regard to their religious work—which was beyond the cognisance of the Government—but solely in regard to their secular instruction in which examinations were held. The Government also set up Colleges of its own, not only in the Presidency Capitals, but also at all the chief places in the interior of the country. Universities were established at Calcutta for the whole of the Bengal Presidency, including many provinces under the Government of India, a much too comprehensive arrangement, and at Madras and Bombay under their respective Provincial Governments. These Universities were for

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examining only and not for teaching. They were governed by Senates of which the Members, European and Native, official and non-official, were nominated by the Government. For elementary education the rule of compulsory attendance was not then thought of, indeed it was not adopted in England itself till many years later. This has not even yet been attempted, although it is remarkable that Japan has now got this salutary rule. The village schools were generally maintained by private resources with some State-aid, very much as the Voluntary Schools are in England. But there were local rates or cesses levied for the schools by authority, though with popular consent, in various localities wherever needed. There was no hope of having a school for every village; but there was to be at least one school for every group of contiguous villages, so that every boy of a school-going age might have a chance of attending. Fees were always to be charged, and there was no general system of "free education" in contemplation. Mixed schools of boys and girls, though not at all discouraged, were hardly expected to spring up. But every encouragement would be given to the establishing of girls' schools separately. To all this there was added a capital plan, namely, that of scholarships supported by the State. An alien rule had been placed over a vast population whose latent capacities had never been fully educed or even ascertained, and among whom many classes had been for ages depressed socially. Therefore it

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was equitable to give individual genius, in whatever class it might be found, a chance of evincing its power and proving what it could do. Thereby the intellectual strength of the nation, in its many component parts, would be consolidated. According to this plan a poor boy of real capacity in a village school might in competition win a scholarship entitling him to free education in a secondary school. There he might win in the same way the same advantage in a secondary school, and so forth in a college, till he might be able to present himself before the authorities of the University.

The educational expenditure by the Government, which in 1854 stood at a very few hundreds of thousands sterling a year, now stands at over a million and a half annually, gradually rising year by year. It would not however be generally regarded as bearing a goodly proportion to the total of civil expenditure, though doubtless it is as much as the Government can afford. This is exclusive of the large income derived from private resources, from fees and from local rates.

Such briefly is the system of National Education, which has been worked perseveringly and with as much energy as the temper of the people would allow, for forty-five years, since 1854 to 1899. It remains to summarise briefly the educational result. There are now about 155,000 institutions in all British India (exclusive of Native States) with about four and a half millions of students and scholars, out

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of which number about half a million are females. Out of the total there are 65,000 private institutions with over a million of scholars. Inasmuch as these numbers began from almost nothing forty-five years ago, and are gradually rising year by year, they may appear considerable absolutely. But it must be remembered that relatively they are quite insufficient, and at the present rate of progress a long time must elapse before they overtake the requirements of the country. If the population of British India, exclusive of the Native States, be taken at 225 millions and one-fifth or one-sixth of the total as the presumable number of children of a school-going age, that is either forty-five millions or thirty-four millions at the least, then the present number actually at schools appears to be only a seventh or an eighth or at the best a sixth of the number that ought to be there. Hence it seems that generations must elapse before the present number can, by the operation of the present system, be multiplied six times. This consideration clearly points to the desirability of adopting sooner or later the same system of compulsory attendance at school, which has been adopted in Britain and in other Western nations. No doubt such a plan would have to be tenderly and tentatively adopted among a people so easily disturbed by change as the Indians. The compulsory power would have at first to be very leniently exercised, but the existence of such a power, in a cause which the conscience of the public recognises as right, would have

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at once a moral effect in inducing the villagers and country folks to be more particular in sending their children to school than they are at present.

As regards the five Universities the number of candidates for the entrance or matriculation examination for the five years ending in 1897 was 23,200, of whom only 12,600 passed and so matriculated. Of these latter again only 4,000 passed on to take the various degrees.* This may be counted for something, but it is not satisfactorily large. Its defectiveness is caused by both social and educational circumstances. The young men who present themselves for the most part are not the scions of wealthy or well-to-do families, nor the cadets of mercantile firms who will have family advantages in pushing their way in the world. They are youths who hope to rise in one or other of two professions, the public service and the law. Of these the first has not enough vacancies for the eligible candidates, while the latter soon becomes overstocked. So the highly educated youth, who have by hard effort of every sort qualified themselves by University education, find but too often that no scope or chance is available for their abilities. There are, or ought to be, many other professions, but these will be either industrial or scientific, demanding that technical instruction shall have been previously received by applicants.

Now it must be admitted that at first, indeed for a

* See Indian Statistics, published in 1898.

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long time, the subject of technical instruction was not adequately appreciated by the educational authorities in India. Apparently it used to be assumed that the youth ought first to be grounded by a good education, chiefly literary and philosophical, and that then he could choose what subject, technical or other, he would take up. Such a proposition sounds very well, and from some points of view there may be much truth in it; moreover this suited many of the Natives exactly, for it is in these very respects, literary and other, that they are most apt. But on the whole it became evident that if the educated youth are to cease either overcrowding the two professions above mentioned or wasting away listlessly —then they must look to other lines where technical instruction is needed, and that such instruction must begin early. Of late years steps have been taken in this direction, technical classes have been set up, and some of the Universities have granted Science Degrees. The Thomason College of Civil Engineering, near the head of the great Ganges Canal, in Northern India, for Natives as well as Europeans, has proved fairly successful. There are hopes of some larger donations from private munificence for founding a technical College. On the whole, though something is done and some movements are made, yet the promotion of technical instruction is one of the crying wants of India at the present time.

Among the consequences of this national education have been the birth and the growth of a multiform

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oriental literature, in many languages, first for educational purposes and then for general subjects. It must be admitted however that, as yet, the tendency of educated Natives seems to be towards lesser productions of a religious or philosophical, even fanciful, character, rather than towards solid matter of any potency or magnitude. Again an extensive Native Newspaper Press in the many vernaculars has sprung up all over the Empire, generally conducted with information and ability, but sometimes diverging towards dangerous and objectionable subjects which have compelled the Government by legislation, not to alter the Criminal Code, but to make its process more speedily effectual than heretofore in these particular cases.

In respect to the popular religion, the Western Education has worked a mental revolution among a limited class of highly educated Natives, who have quite ceased to believe in the modern Hinduism or Brahmanism; and have turned, not as might have been hoped, towards Christianity, but towards the antique or Vedic Hinduism, and are often styled Vedists or Brahmos. But for the masses and for the aristocracy the popular religion still prevails. The faith of Islam is not shaken in any class of Moslems, notwithstanding the schools and the colleges. The translation of the Bible into many languages has been undertaken by the Missionary bodies to be immediately mentioned.

The progress of Christianity in India involves

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considerations of the highest moment. These cannot be set forth adequately in a work like the present, but some notice of the facts is required.

The census for 1891 showed a total of 2,284,000, or two millions and a quarter of Christians in India, and it is expected that the census of 1901 will show a large increase over this aggregate. Of this total some 120,000 to 150,000 will be Europeans, and all the rest are Native Indians, or Eurasians, that is people of half blood. Of the total of Indians a considerable portion consists of Roman Catholics descended from the converts made by the Portuguese in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in Western India chiefly, but in other parts of the country also. Another portion consists of Nestorians and Chaldeans, whose forefathers have been in South-western India, perhaps from apostolic times. Later in the eighteenth century many Portuguese of half-blood migrated from Western India to Bengal under British auspices, where their descendants are still found. Indeed at Calcutta and Bombay the Roman Catholics form a large wealthy and influential community with a hierarchy of their own. At both capitals also are Roman Catholic Colleges bearing the honoured name of St. Francis Xavier. The Indian Roman Catholic Christians must have during the eighteenth century, if not before, been exposed to maltreatment of every kind. They are not known to have been persecuted, but manifestly they must have been beset by endless temptations to desert

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their faith after the fall of the Portuguese power. Nevertheless they remained faithfully Christian; and this fact, together with other facts of a cognate nature, in other Eastern countries, will justify hopefulness regarding the character of the Orientals who have been, or yet may be, converted to Christianity. At the beginning of the nineteenth century they began to fall under the British ægis, and since 1820 they have been fully protected in all their civil and religious liberties. In many places there are Roman Catholic Missions, maintained in efficiency with genuine zeal and devoted service.

At the opening of the nineteenth century there were but few Native Protestant Christians in India. These were the converts, or their offspring, made either by the saintly Danish Missionaries Ziegenbalg and Schwartz, or by the pioneer Baptist Missionaries Carey and Marshman. In 1795, the London Missionary Society, consisting of Churchmen and Nonconformists in unison, sent its first missionary to India. But in 1799, and soon after 1800, two events occurred of far-reaching consequence to the East, whereof no man, happily, can foresee the end. These were the founding of the Church Missionary Society exclusively for preaching the Gospel to the heathen, and the extending to the heathen of the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, a Society which had existed since the beginning of the eighteenth century and had heretofore worked exclusively among its own countrymen in the colonies,

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and to some extent among the American Indians. Thus there were set on foot in India two powerful Missionary Societies in the Church of England, belonging indeed to different sections of churchmen, but acting in full harmony and being, not, as has sometimes been erroneously supposed, rival bodies, but sister Societies in true Christian sisterhood.*

The Church Missionary Society, as regards work among the heathen, is much the larger of the two. It began the century with quite small means, and at first made but slight way, partly by reason of the novelty of its work among the Natives, and partly because the British Government was naturally cautious in allowing proceedings which might easily be misunderstood and might cause trouble to an Empire still in its infancy. But as confidence grew with power, and as there was some relaxation on the renewal of the East India Company's charter in 1793, so the Society's work grew apace, and so funds from England began to flow. In 1813, under the auspices and advocacy of many of the most distinguished men in the religious world at that time, especially the immortal Wilberforce, a favourable declaration was made on behalf of Missions at the further renewal of the East India Company's charter. Still some surprise may be caused by a retrospect of the mistrust and apprehensiveness which existed in many influential quarters, official and

* For example the present writer is himself a Vice-President in both these societies.

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other, as to the wisdom of the possibility of promoting successfully the cause of Protestant Missions in India, up to 1833, when the constitution of the East India Company was changed. After that epoch there was full freedom, and the prospects improved in every decade, till the war of the Mutinies in 1857. These events might have been expected to produce an adverse effect, but they actually gave an impulse. Thus the Church Missionary Society, which in 1799 began with nothing, has celebrated its first centenary in 1899, with an annual income of £335,000, and a special centenary fund of nearly £100,000. It works indeed in other lands, African, Asiatic and Australasian, still India is naturally its best field and much of its income is spent there. The same story may in general terms be told of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Being the older Society it had some considerable income in 1800. This by 1899 had risen to a sum less than half of the sister Society, but if the income of several lesser Missions belonging to the same section of the churchmen, were added, the total would not fall far short of £200,000 of annual income. It celebrated its first centenary in 1801, and hopes to celebrate its second with joy and thankfulness soon after 1900. From the nature of its constitution only a portion of its resources are devoted to India. The efforts made by the larger Society are certainly the greatest ever made by any single association. The annual income of the two Societies combined, together with lesser

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and subsidiary Societies may now amount to nearly £550,000, or over half a million sterling; and this represents for the Church of England the largest enterprise for foreign missions ever undertaken by any Christian community. The whole of this income is not spent in India, and the exact proportion of such expenditure cannot be stated, but naturally it must be considerable. Both Societies during the latter part of the century have been working among Indian women of the well-to-do class, through the agency of European ladies styled "Zenâna" Missionaries.

*Other Protestant communities have been similarly signalised. The first of the Baptist Missions already mentioned may be described in 1792 as the pioneer of Protestant Missionary enterprise now seen in India. Its work has proceeded continuously till 1899, when its annual income must amount to nearly £100,000 annually, especially if the work of some lesser Baptist Missions be taken in combination with it; and a goodly part of that is spent in India. It is probable that, in proportion to its numbers, the Baptist community in Britain is not surpassed by any community of Christendom in its efforts for foreign missions.

The same too, may happily be said for the Free Church of Scotland, which succeeded in some degree

* Most of the dates to be given here have been verified from *Foreign Missions*, by the Religious Tract Society, 1888.

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to the Missions established by the old Church of Scotland beginning in 1829, and then in 1843 developed Missions of its own with a vigour and success that covered it with honour.

The London Missionary Society has been already mentioned as beginning in 1795. It has grown and prospered to the end of the nineteenth century. The same distinction may be accorded to the Wesleyans as represented by the Wesleyan Methodist Society, fully organised since 1816. It has an income the largeness of which is honourable to its members, and of which a portion, probably one-third, is spent in India. Minor Missions belonging to other Protestant communities are also working in the Indian Empire.

Several Missions from the Continent of Europe are at work in India, notably one from Basel and two from Germany.

Much help in the good cause has come from the United States, notably through the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions since 1810, the American Baptist Missionary Union since 1814, the Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States since 1818, the United Presbyterian Church of North America since 1854, the Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church since 1854.

From Canada also help has come through the Presbyterian Church and the Methodist Church.

It would be well nigh impossible to present the combined statistics of the result of these various

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Protestant Missions, as the material would have to be drawn from many scattered sources, and as the expenditure in India is not always discriminated by the Societies from that in other countries. But in round numbers it may be said approximately that something between £400,000 and £500,000 is annually expended; that the number of Protestant Native Christians may be between 600,000 and 800,000, to which may be added at least 250,000 children under Christian instruction, bringing up the total to over a million. The number of ordained Missionaries, clergy and ministers, European, has been reckoned at nearly nine hundred, besides a nearly equal number of ordained Native clergy; and also a large staff of lady Missionaries. There has been nothing like a conversion of people in masses. Converts have been made individually, one person after another. The success has been exactly commensurate with the means employed, advancing slowly, steadily and thoroughly. But there have been no striking results on a large scale. The character of the Native Christians both as churchmen and as citizens is fair, and good all round. This is especially the case where they were collected in villages extending over large tracts, as in the Southern Peninsula and in the hills of the West of Bengal.

Further, these Missions have raised the repute and honour of the British nation, and of the English-speaking races, in the eyes of the Natives. The British Government thus spoke of them in 1873:

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"They (the Missionaries) constitute a valuable body of education; they contribute greatly to the cultivation of the Native language and literature. . . . They have prepared hundreds of works, suited both for the schools and for general circulation, in the fifteen most prominent languages of India. . . . The lessons which they inculcate have given to the people at large new ideas not only on religious questions, but on the nature of evil, the obligations of law, and the motives by which human conduct should be regulated. . . . The Government of India cannot but acknowledge the great obligations under which it is laid by the benevolent exertions made by them." *

For the benefit of its European and Christian servants, both civil and military, the East India Company had from the beginning appointed Chaplains at the various stations. In 1813 a Bishop was appointed, and in 1833 the number of Bishops was increased to three, for Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; and the Bishop of Calcutta was declared to be Metropolitan in India. The dioceses of Madras and Bombay have continued to be much as they were then. But the diocese of Calcutta became of an immense size, impossible of supervision by one Bishop. Consequently additional Bishoprics have been constituted at Lahore for the Panjab, at Lucknow for Northern India, and at Rangoon for Burma.

* See Report on "Moral and Material Progress of India," 1873.

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CHAPTER XIII.

REVENUE AND FINANCE.

For India there was virtually what economists call "a double standard." Coins both silver and gold were issued from the Mints of the Government; and both were equally received. The silver coin was the well-known rupee and was in the exchange with England reckoned as about equal to two shillings. There had been many rupees in India of divers values locally, but they were superseded by the East India Company's rupee. In 1835-6 silver became the sole standard, gold for the most part disappearing. About ten rupees then were required as an equivalent to the British sovereign in gold. The Indian revenues were collected in rupees, and the public accounts, that is the statements of the expenditure and income of the Company, were kept in rupees also. But whenever these statements had to be translated for use in England and whenever the value of Indian income, or the weight of Indian expenses had to be expressed in English for popular information, the number of rupees used to be divided by ten. In other words, ten million or a "crore" of rupees meant a million pounds sterling; a hundred thousand or a "lakh" of rupees indicated ten thou-

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sand pounds sterling, and so forth. This method was in full force at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The relative value of gold and silver, though not always free from slight fluctuations, did yet remain sufficiently stable to allow this simple and convenient reckoning between the Indian rupee and the British sovereign to be continued for more than seventy years. In the early part of the century the matter was mainly one of reckoning and did not possess the grave importance which it afterwards assumed in the closing quarter of the century. There were from the very first some payments on their territorial account to be made by the East India Company from India to England. In the early part of the century these were not very considerable. But they grew enormously from various causes during the latter half of the century, and after that the value of the rupee relatively to the sovereign began to fall more and more. About 1880, then, it became impossible with any approach to correctness to represent ten rupees as equivalent to a sovereign in the presentation of Indian accounts or statements in England; and some change became necessary. Then to represent the Indian accounts for England in sovereigns as heretofore, but according to the reduced value of the rupee, would cause infinite misapprehension, might possibly give rise to a notion that the Indian revenues were decreasing while they actually were increasing, and would certainly vitiate, for English use at least, any comparison between the later

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and earlier years of the century. Consequently the plan was adopted of reckoning the Indian accounts and statements for England in tens of rupees, or Rs. X.; thus instead of a million of pounds sterling, or £, the accounts set forth a million of tens of rupees or Rs. X., and this is now the signification of "a million," whenever Indian figures are mentioned. In this way any possible misapprehension is avoided and the means of comparing the present time with former times are duly preserved. It is in that sense then that the term million will be used in this Chapter.

The economic condition of the country in 1899 is largely affected by the outlay of British capital in it, which has been going on, especially during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The outlay on remunerative works like railways and canals of irrigation has been already mentioned in the preceding Chapters. In 1897 in a summary work entitled *Sixty Years of the Queen's Reign,** the following explanation was given in a popular form on this important subject. "India affords a large field for the employment of British capital. Her national debt, including the railways guaranteed by the State, amounts to nearly three hundred millions. Of this sum about one-tenth has been subscribed by the Natives of India, while all the rest has been found by the London money market. The amount of private

* *Sixty Years of the Queen's Reign*, by Sir Richard Temple, 1897.

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outlay by British capitalists in India, on manifold enterprises, relating to tea, coffee, jute, mines and many miscellaneous undertakings, cannot be precisely stated. But it has generally been reckoned at 250 millions sterling and is constantly growing. Thus it may, without exaggeration, be said that nearly 600 millions of British money are profitably laid out in India. The interest annually of this sum goes mostly to Britain. As this money was sent out to India to be expended on the country, was paid mostly to the people there, and fructifies therein by countless ways, it is clear that in this great respect India must be benefiting by the British connection. There is a part of this national debt which was incurred for war and may in one sense be considered unproductive, but this does not exceed one-fifth of the whole."

The most recent figures of Indian revenue and expenditure have been somewhat affected by the famine of 1896–7. The most characteristic type of the Indian Finance in these days will be found in the figures for the year 1895–6 as presented in the Statistical Abstract published in 1898.

For that year the gross revenue and receipts in India and in England, including exchange, stood at 98,370,167; or nearly 98½ millions; at 96,836,169, or over 96¾ millions. The heads of revenue and receipts were as below:

Land revenue, 26,200,955; *Opium,* 7,123; *Salt,* 8,-861,845; *Stamps,* 4,727,055; *Excise,* 5,722,417;

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Other heads, 13,437,147; *Interest,* 825,052; *Post Office, Telegraph and Mint,* 2,840,353; *Receipts by Civil Departments,* 1,684,522; *Miscellaneous,* 1,095,914; *Railways,* 21,859,189; *Irrigation,* 2,299,853; *Buildings and roads,* 713,832; *Receipts by Military Department,* 978,011; *Total Revenues and Receipts,* 98,370,167.

For the same year the heads of expenditure were as below:

Direct demands on revenue, 10,351,257; *Interest,* 4,044,799; *Post Office, Telegraph and Mint,* 2,594,880; *Salaries and expenses of Civil Departments,* 15,172,860; *Miscellaneous civil charges,* 5,933,332; *Famine Relief and insurance,* 586,485; *Construction of railway charged against revenue,* 7,661; *Railway revenue account,* 23,479,457; *Irrigation,* 2,976,311; *Buildings and roads,* 5,810,512; *Army services,* 25,398,157; *Special defence works,* 101,349; *Total expenditure,* 96,457,060; *Provincial adjustments,* 379,109; *Total charges against revenue,* 96,836,169.

The figures are produced yearly by the Government of India according to a Budget system after the English model introduced in 1860 by Mr. James Wilson, the well-known economist in England, who was the first Finance Minister for India.

It will readily be observed that the most fundamentally important part of the revenues, namely the land revenue, does not increase proportionately with the general growth of prosperity in the country.

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This is because of the revenue being settled for long terms of years in most parts of the country and in perpetuity for one part. As already shown in a preceding Chapter the considerations clustering round this branch of revenue are social and political quite as much as fiscal.

The salt revenue, nearly nine millions, is a considerable item. It is the only contribution made to the national Treasury by the poor and by the labouring classes.

The opium revenue stands at over seven millions, and is a considerable item, though it used to be much more in former years. This is the item around which controversy raged in Britain for full fifty years, that is from 1845 to 1895, when it was for the most part allayed by the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission. Even then, however, it has not been set at rest and probably never will be. Those who were convinced before that the conduct of the British Government was right throughout, will have these convictions strengthened by this Report and by the judicial proofs or arguments which it affords. Those who were doubtful before or had an open mind on the subject will find their ideas and opinions much affected thereby in favour of the existing system. Those who had previously formed an opinion with conscientious deliberation will doubtless not modify that opinion by reason of this Report or by anything else. The censures which were roundly pronounced outside, and which were

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echoed in Parliament, have become silent. Whether the anti-opium agitation has ceased, or, if not, how far it has been affected, are matters known only to those who may have been engaged in it. The chairman of the Royal Commission was Lord Brassey, the members were two Members of Parliament, one Conservative and the other Liberal, one eminent Medical Officer, one distinguished Anglo-Indian administrator, two Native Indian gentlemen of rank and status. They travelled all over India, examined several hundreds of witnesses, of all classes and nationalities, put and recorded several thousands of questions, and presented a Report, which was laid before Parliament and which with appendices extended over 250 great pages with sixty-five lines each, quite apart from the minutes of evidence which are of great bulk. Their enquiries lasted nearly two years; and naturally involved much public expense. All this shows what pains Britain takes to find out whether she has been, or is doing, right. In signing the Report eight members out of nine were unanimous, and one was dissentient.

To analyse or summarise so great a Report as this would be beyond the scope of a work like the present.

But it is to be gathered from the Report that the drug is not necessarily a curse, a poison, or even a noxious thing, that it is either harmful, or harmless, or beneficial, according to the prudence with which it is used, that the question relating to it runs on all fours with that of spirits and drugs in the Western

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nations, that it was not introduced by Europeans into India or China, having existed there long before, that the Chinese themselves have been and are the great producers of the poppy and of the opium, far exceeding the Indians, that the charge against the British of having forced the drug upon China cannot be sustained, that the importation of the Indian variety of the drug makes no difference in the consumption of the Chinese, that the cessation of such importation would only cause *pro tanto* an increase of the Chinese production, that as the Chinese consumer desires this article the Indian producer desires to send it, that the Government cannot be expected to interfere with this law of supply and demand, except by taxing it to the uttermost degree consistent with the prevention of illicit practices, smuggling and the like, that the Bengal system, though at first sight it may seem to connect the Government with the trade, is yet the best as being the most effective for restricting the production and the use of the drug, that this use has not reached any objectionable extent in India, and is not shown to have been nationally deleterious in China, that the right of the Government, British or Chinese, to draw revenue from such a source rests on the same arguments for or against which would be applicable to the revenues from wines, spirits or beer in the Western nations. The Commission seem to think that the stronger criticism came from American and Canadian Missionaries, and some British Evan-

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gelicals, devoted and conscientious men who were opposed altogether to the use of anything alcoholic, some of whom have been ardent workers in the cause of total abstinence and prevention by law. Now to discuss the conclusions of this elaborate and authoritative Report would be to enter into a controversy unsuited to a work like this. Still in justice to the Royal Commission two sentences should be cited. They write "as a result of a searching enquiry, and upon a deliberate review of the copious evidence submitted to us we feel bound to express our conviction that this movement in England in favour of active interference on the part of the Imperial Parliament for the suppression of the opium habit in India has proceeded from exaggerated impressions as to the nature and extent of the evil to be controlled. . . . We may be sensible that, as in the case of the drink duties at home, so in the analogous case of opium in India, the revenue is drawn from a source liable to abuse. Looking, however, at the problem before us, from the highest moral standpoint, it is something to know that the hand of the ruler is chiefly felt in the way of repression and restriction."

In response to the definite reference made to them the Royal Commission stated that "It has not been shown to be necessary, or to be demanded by the people, that the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of opium in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes."

This response has been accepted as conclusive by

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the British Parliament and by British people for the most part.

But as the outcome of the Report of the Commission has been given, it will perhaps only be fair that the Minute of the one Member who dissented should also be noticed—that of Mr. Henry J. Wilson, M.P. for Holmfirth in Yorkshire on the Liberal side. He begins by observing that the resolution of the House of Commons and the terms of the reference to the Royal Commission were passed by the Liberal Government in 1893, under Mr. Gladstone, by a majority of 184 to 105. He describes the 105 as mainly comprising "the anti-opium party," who desired an enquiry "for a very different and far more useful purpose." It is to be inferred from his own language that he joined the Royal Commission with his mind made up as to the policy which, in his view, morality dictated. It may be inferred that inasmuch as the anti-opium party would have zealously mustered their numbers for that occasion, their full strength, just over a hundred, represented less than one-sixth of the House of Commons. From his notes it appears he had not infrequent differences with his colleagues as to the manner in which the evidence was taken in India. It is impossible for any from the outside to approach such differences; but the result does not seem in the end to be unfavourably regarded by Mr. Wilson, for he considers that the general drift and tendency of the evidence, or the prevailing mass of

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it, to be on his side. He manifestly differs from his colleagues in the view to be taken of the evidence. He considers it proved by the evidence that opium "in China is a gigantic national evil. It is therefore impossible for him to avoid the conclusion that it is altogether unworthy for a great dependency of the British Empire to be thus engaged in a traffic which produces such wide-spread misery and disaster." After considering the possibility of the Chinese themselves filling up any gap that might be left by the stoppage of the Indian import, he writes: "But however this may be, a traffic which is contrary to the principles of humanity cannot be justified on the ground that if we do not engage in it, it will fall into the hands of others who have no such scruples." The words "engaging in a traffic" would apparently be held by the Commission to be a misapprehension of the Bengal system for ensuring the taxation on opium.

One passage in the Minute of dissent must be cited, and it was thus: "No analogy exists between alcohol in England and opium in India. In whatever way the statistics are looked at they show that there are in India vast tracts where a mere fraction of the population are consumers of opium. In England, on the other hand, the great majority of the people are more or less consumers of alcohol. Any attempt therefore to treat the case as analogous is entirely fallacious; in the one case we have a nation of consumers, in the other case a nation of abstainers."

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Now this passage may in many respects be left for moralists to consider. But if it is inferable that because the great majority of the English consume alcohol they may be left undisturbed by law, then it follows that the Chinese may be left to produce and import opium as they like, subject only to taxation. Finally Mr. Wilson arrives at the conclusion that "the growth of the poppy and manufacture and sale of in British India should be prohibited except for medical purposes; and that such prohibition should not be forcibly imposed on the Native States, but the example of the British Government should be supported by such influence as may be legitimately employed." This change cannot be required for the sake of the people of India, because later on he writes: "It is clear that the opium habit, so far from being common amongst the people generally, is relatively exceptional in British India." The change therefore must be required for the sake of the people of China, perhaps also for the character of the British Government.

The question as regards China, and the conduct of the British in regard thereto, will be mentioned in a future part of this work.

The Report of the Royal Commission having been laid before Parliament in the spring of 1895, a discussion and a vote on it were challenged in the House of Commons by Sir Joseph Pease, the leader of the anti-opium party, on the ground that the opium system in India is morally indefensible, and

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that there should be total prohibition except for medical purposes. Now this was the same House of Commons as that which in 1893 had ordered the enquiry, and the same Liberal Government was in power, except that for Mr. Gladstone had been substituted Lord Rosebery. Yet Sir Joseph Pease's motion was rejected by 176 to 59, or about 3 to 1. It is noteworthy that the anti-opium party, who presumably must have mustered their men for this occasion, had decreased from 105 in 1893 to 59 in 1895. In both instances it consisted largely of men who were conscientiously opposed to drugs and spirits of all kinds. The majority against Sir Joseph Pease included the leaders of the Liberal Party then in power together with the leaders of the Conservative and Unionist Party, and their tellers were the Liberal Whips, indicating that the Liberal Government supported the Report of the Royal Commission. Since then no further steps have been taken in Parliament.

There are still some financial facts claiming notice. The circulation of Government currency notes throughout the country stands at nearly thirty millions. The system was initiated by Mr. James Wilson in 1860. The cash balances in the treasuries and agencies of India fluctuate naturally year to year from fourteen to twenty-two millions; one year, 1893, they stood as high as twenty-five millions. All this indicates the maintenance of a large cash reserve. There is a system of Government Savings Banks of

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which the natives make large use. There are no less than 650 of such banks in working order, with 650,000 depositors, the average for each depositor being 135 rupees.

The embarrassment caused by the decline of silver in the large silver remittances from India to be adjusted by a gold standard in England, as already mentioned in this Chapter, became so acute that several enquiries were made, and among them an important one by a Committee under the Presidency of the late Lord Herschel. The Government of India in 1893 closed their Mints against the coinage of silver—but agreed to receive gold in exchange for rupees at 1s. 4d. per rupee. Since that time this rate of convertibility has been maintained, not only because of the closing of the mints, but from other causes, to the partial relief of the Government Treasury and of other interests. The object of the Government of India was to introduce a gold standard into India. They proposed certain measures for that end, and in 1898 a committee presided over by Sir Henry Fowler was appointed to consider these proposals. Their Report was presented to Parliament just before the Session of 1899 and was before the public in August. An analysis of this Report would not be suitable here, especially as it has gone to India for consideration. Suffice it to quote merely the principal conclusions. "The Committee concur with the Government of India in their decision not to revert to the silver standard." They conclude

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"to proceed with measures for the effective establishment of a gold standard." They say "we are in favour of making the British sovereign a legal tender and a current coin in India. We also consider that at the same time the Indian Mints should be thrown open to the unrestricted coinage of gold on terms and conditions such as govern the three Australian branches of the Royal Mint." Lastly they say: "We are of opinion that the permanent rate should be that which has been adopted as a provisional rate in the past and which is also the market rate of to-day, viz., 1s. 4d. (one shilling and four pence), for the Rupee." This Report was mentioned with approval by the Secretary of State in Parliament on 8th August, 1899, and though the opinion of the Government of India is awaited, the public impression is that the way has been cleared for the adoption of at least a gold standard in India, apart from the question of the early introduction of a gold currency as well.

Such then are the finances of British India, and the only question remaining is whether the amount of receipts taken at 98 millions annually is moderate as compared with that received under Native Rule with something like similar conditions. The Mogul Empire at its height in 1697 was similar to the Empire of India proclaimed in 1877; the Mogul Emperor Aurangzebe was almost as much master of India as the British sovereign now is. Sir William Hunter writes in 1881, after considering

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the remarkable estimate made by Mr. Edward Thomas, that "The total revenues of Aurangzebe was estimated in 1695 at 80 millions and in 1697 at 77½ millions sterling. The gross taxation levied from British India deducting the opium excise which is paid by the Chinese consumer averaged 35½ millions sterling during the ten years ending in 1879." This comparison would show laudable moderation on the part of the British Government as compared with the 77 or 80 millions under the Great Mogul; especially as the population must be much greater now than it was then. The comparison on the whole case becomes difficult, and if taken unreservedly would be misleading. But in respect to the land tax it can be made more exactly. For the culminating point in 1697 it was set down at 38½ millions, which sum greatly exceeds the 26 millions just shown for the British land revenue of to-day. Yet on looking at the provincial details which make up the Moghal total, most of the provinces were less in population then than they are now, and some much less. In the Deccan Plateau alone could it be said that there was more of fertility and habitation than now, owing to the revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The comparison however proves that the difference between the Moghal and the British totals partly arises from the fact that many taxes which were formerly levied are now remitted. On the other hand it must be remembered that a portion of the British total is derived from the receipts which flow

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into the British territory from the post office, the telegraphs, the railways and the canals. Still whichever way the account be taken, whether the full 98 millions, or less, the amount received by the British Government from its 230 millions of people (exclusive of Native States) is very moderate, and the Indians are taxed very lightly according to any standard derivable either from previous Native Rule or from any Western nation.

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE STATE OF INDIA IN 1899.

THE progress of India during the nineteenth century has now been summarised. I have shown how vast are the area and the population of the country including the Himalayan mountains, the continent and the peninsula—how depressed and dejected was the land and the people at the end of the 18th and the dawn of the 19th century—how the Empire of India was gradually formed till it covered the entire country and was then formally proclaimed —how the several Frontiers were determined and settled—how the Native States were gradually formed—how the machinery of the Government in India, and of the control over it in Britain, was constituted—how there arose in the Native Indian Army certain difficulties which culminated in the Indian Mutinies—how in the civil government an absolute despotism has been guided by humane and enlightened principles of justice, goodwill and considerateness—how legislation of a comprehensive character has been introduced with two grades of Legislative Councils—how in the dispensing of justice, civil and criminal, all parties, including the Government itself, and all nationalities, European and Native, have been

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rendered equal before the law—how property in land has been secured by a public registration of tenures and rendered valuable by a limitation of the demand for land revenue—how the obligation of the State has been practically acknowledged to use all its efforts and resources to save life from famine—how agriculture has been to some extent protected by the finest system of irrigation works ever seen in any country—how the forests have been at least partially preserved by a conservancy department under the State—how communications by land have been opened by the making of trunk roads and then by the construction of at least all the main lines of railway, leaving numerous branches yet to be undertaken—how external ocean-borne trade has been developed by steam navigation, especially since the opening of the Suez Canal—how internal trade has been assisted by the Post Office and the Electric Telegraph—how Municipalities have been established for the cities and the provincial towns, with sanitation and medical aid, and a foundation laid for district councils—how a complete system of Public Education has been instituted, elementary, secondary and superior, which has already borne some fruit, leaving very much to be accomplished in the future—how Christianity has been diffused more or less extensively in many places by the organization of private effort—how the State revenues have grown enormously and the finances been managed with success on the whole, despite difficulties and disad-

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vantages. It remains yet to be explained briefly what has been the effect of all these comprehensive and varied measures on the condition, material, mental and moral, of the vast Indian population which Providence has committed to the charge of Britain.

As will have been already perceived, the Empire of India consists of two parts, the lesser part being the Native States, the larger part being the British territories.

It will be well to notice the present condition of the Native States, before considering the British territories which form the bulk of the Empire.

In a certain sense these States, great and small, are so numerous that it is not easy to count them exactly, but they are about four hundred and fifty in number. They comprise a total area of 600,000 square miles and 66 millions of people. The total of their revenues cannot be stated, but it must amount to over 15 millions (Rs. X.), annually. They are of all sizes and degrees; some being little more than feudal barons. Others being potentates of consideration, autonomous, subject only to British suzerainty, and feudatories of the Sovereign. They all have British representatives residing permanently at their Courts. It will suffice here to mention only these greater Native States.

They readily group themselves into certain divisions. Firstcomes Nepal (of the Gurkhas), then Cashmere (with Jammu) and Cooch Behar, all in

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or about the Himalayas. In Northern India is the important group of Protected Sikh States between the Satlej River and Delhi; then South of Agra is the great family of Rajput States. From this neighbourhood right down to the west of India lie the three Mahratta States of Gwalior (Sindhia), of Holkar (Indore) and of the Gaikwar (Baroda). Further down towards the south-west are the two Hindu States of Mysore and Travancore. There are yet some Moslem States; that of Nizam of the Deccan on the middle plateau of the Continent, the largest Native State in India, of Bhopal in the centre of the country, and of Bahawulpur on the river Indus. Far away on the eastern frontier of the Empire are the Shan States of Burma. The States being maintained in dignity, prosperity and comfort, are bound up with the British Empire, have every interest in its permanency and constitute the most trustworthy element of conservatism in the country. They cannot answer for unruly or disloyal subjects in their dominions any more than the British Government for the ill-disposed in its territories. It must never be forgotten that in India there are the evil minded whom we have always. These Native States are in respect to internal government quite autonomous. They are for the most part governing well, following more and more the model of British administration. They encourage Western education, and even have Colleges for the cadets of their own royal families. Their members are beginning to visit Europe. They

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manage their own military forces, subject to the general advice of the British Government. Some of their best troops have been specially recognised as imperial forces, and have served together with the British troops in recent campaigns. Some twenty thousand men of theirs are thus reckoned as forming a part of the military strength of the British Empire. Their subjects are conterminous with the British subjects everywhere; and there is a brotherly feeling between the two sets as fellow countrymen. They afford a finer field for individual Native genius, ambition and capacity than could otherwise be found under the circumstances of British Rule. They display many centres round which may cluster the old grandeur, courtesy, romantic tradition, ancestral splendour, ideas of semi-divine origin, which are still enshrined in the hearts and are dear to the imagination of the Natives at large.

The material effect will have been gathered from the foregoing Chapters, being easily inferable from the facts stated therein. Firstly comes the growth of the population. Sir Robert Giffen, the statistician, appears to have reckoned that since 1871 to the end of the century this population shows an increase of seventy-one millions, almost entirely due to natural increment. Following that, is the expansion of cultivation, great in some quarters, lesser in others, but more or less everywhere. Then comes the growth of domestic comfort universally. This received signal confirmation during the very last year, 1898.

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That particular year came upon the heels of the worst famine that has been seen during the half century. This famine, too, was followed by an outbreak of bubonic plague in Western India, which, despite all the sanitary efforts of the Government, is not yet extinguished. Nevertheless it proved to be one of the best years, if not the very best year, that India has ever had. This result has just been laid before the British House of Commons, by the Secretary of State in August, 1899, as proving the success of the Government of India in combating the famine, but still more the recuperative power and the amassed means of sustenance possessed by the people of India. Never has India remitted so vast a sum to England, among other, for charges relating to public improvement as in this year. Never did she export so much of her products as in this year including, too, edible produce. Never has she shown so low an amount of unproductive national debt, 31 millions, as at the present time, the rest of the debt being all remunerative. A special enquiry, in the provinces recently afflicted or affected by famine, has shown that the landholding and cultivating classes are more comfortable than ever, that the artisans and the better sorts of labourers get higher wages than ever, but that the wages with the humbler labourers though rising do not rise as much as might be wished because the increase of population is apt to overstock the labour market. For this last-named disadvantage, the only one visible in the material

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aspect of the country, there is no remedy except the promotion of public works. Emigration will hardly be a remedy, as emigrants have not yet come forward in sufficient numbers.

Still these latest enquiries have tended to resuscitate the apprehensions lest in some districts the multiplying population should prove too dense for the due sustenance of all. For the whole country, however, despite the ever-growing multitudes, the average density is still exceedingly moderate, being only one hundred and eighty-five inhabitants per square mile, which represents a population far from excessive.

As already seen, the external sea-borne trade has been well sustained. For 1897–8, about five thousand vessels with four millions of tons entered the Indian ports and about the same number cleared. Of this vast number only some few hundreds were foreign and the rest were flying the British flag. These numbers were on the whole nearly as good as any that have been seen in India, and they represent a goodly portion of the British shipping in the world.*

The really recondite and disputable matters relate to the moral and mental effect.

It is said with as much truth as usually pertains to general statements, that in India, Islam or the faith of Muhammad, is unchanging. It may shrink, or decay, or wither, but in essential elements it never

* *Statesman's Year-Book*, 1899.

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alters anywhere. Therefore it will be in India as it is in places familiar to Europeans like Constantinople, Cairo, or Tangier. If this broad proposition be accepted, then there is not much discussion needed on the Indian branch of Islam. It follows that the fierce and positive fanaticism, which is a primary characteristic, must be burning in the heart of many a true Moslem. Indeed this quality was manifested during the troubles in the middle of the century, though it has subsequently grown milder. This refers only to the Moslems of the blood from Central Asia, Mogul, Afghan, Persian, who form only a portion of the Indian Moslems, but hardly at all to the Moslems of humble Indian origin like those in North-eastern Bengal who form the numerically important and fast-increasing section of the Indian Moslems. It is not conceivable that they can be imbued with the austere bigotry, the fiery pride, of the descendants of those who in Mid Asia caught the real *afflatus* of Islam.

It is said by some, with a kind of picturesque irregularity, that the historic Hindu nation has long since died, that its heroic traditions have vanished into mist, its golden age faded into obscurity; its epic poetry ceased, its muses become silent, its religion lost all authority, its philosophy moth-eaten, its dramatic poetry extinguished, its courts and camps faded in brilliancy—and that to it, *mutato nomine*, may be applied the words, "'tis Greece but living Greece no more." Though such a description as this

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could not be accepted as accurate, yet there is enough of *vraisemblance* about it to deserve a brief consideration. The Hindus numbering over two hundred millions, are greater in material prosperity, wealth and numbers in 1899, than in any year since they became a congeries of nationalities under one faith many centuries ago. They cannot be described to-day in a single category. They comprise several categories, each of which must be noticed separately; but these categories relate to scattered masses and classes of people rather than to localities or even to regions.

The tongue of Moslems in India was wont largely to be Persian, but since the middle of the century it has become Hindostani, formerly called Oordu, which is still the official language of the Courts in the districts round Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Lucknow. Elsewhere the official language of the courts is the language of the region, that is to say, Bengali for Bengal, Oorya for Orissa, Hindi for Behar and Benares, Mahratti for Nagpore and the Central Deccan to Bombay, Gujerathi for the Western Coast, Telugu for the Southern Deccan and the eastern coast, Kanarese for the south-western coast, and Tamil for the southern peninsula. Of these main languages, all save the Hindostani and the Tamil are derived from Sanskrit. The Burmese for Burma has a separate origin. Besides these principal tongues, each of them with a separate literature of its own, there are many other lesser languages

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more or less recognised by the British Government.

Before adverting to the Hindus proper it may be well to say what there is to be said regarding the Aboriginal races, and the Aborigines who have been converted to Hinduism in a sort of way, and who help to swell the total of the low caste men in the aggregate of the Hindu religion. The effect of British Rule on their minds and morals has been but little for the better though not all for the worse. The fringe of them has been largely touched by the preaching of Christianity; the success of the Missionary efforts has been very much in the proportion to the means employed. If these means were to become largely augmented, the success might be indefinitely extended. On the other hand, it must be remarked that these Aborigines are not likely to remain altogether as they are; on the contrary they are open to the proselytising from the Hindus proper. It is probable that many thousands of them have thus gone over to Hinduism during the latter half of the century; and although then Hinduism may sit loose upon them, and although they may still afford a fairer field than most races would, to Christianising effort, still the fact of their having come under the sway, however slightly, of the Brahmin priesthood, would be *pro tanto,* an impediment to the approach of Christianity. In other words, unless the Christian Missionaries shall succeed in being the first in the field with them, there is always

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a danger of their going over to the Hindus. These considerations are well worthy of attention on the part of the Societies for Religious Missions.

The really strange and curious question relates to the mental and moral condition of the Hindus proper, who form, as has already been shown, the mass of the Indian population.

Respecting the humbler classes of the Hindus numbering some scores of millions, the British Rule with its elementary education has improved their intelligence in common matters, and by the example of its governance has doubtless raised their ideas of the virtue which exists in the world. But the effect of all that on these people as they are, is not very much though it is something. As regards their religion, that is probably to-day just as it was in the ninth century after the restoration of Brahmanism and before the first coming of the Moslems. In the book *India in 1880*, it was then written regarding them, with the freshest and fullest knowledge, "It (the old religion) survives with the mass of the Hindus who still flock in countless multitudes to hallowed bathing places, still approach inner sanctuaries of idols with heartfelt awe, still load the shrines with offerings, still brave the toils and often the fatal hardships of their pilgrimages." * In all probability there has been no change in these respects up to the present day.

* See *India in 1880*, by Sir Richard Temple, p. 117.

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The same book went on to state as follows:—"With the educated classes of Hindus, the priestly influence is sinking fast towards its final decadence. There remain indeed some Hindus of culture and learning, who stand by the ancient faith and its observances. But as a rule, educated Hindus pay little more than an outward respect to the forms and to the ministers of the national religion. . . . This must surely be recognised by many of these keen-witted and clear-sighted priests. Proud as they are of their race and lineage, strong in the faith of their divine origin, persuaded of their own sanctity, conscious of their own intellectual superiority, they cannot but regard with indescribable sentiments the new empire which crushes prejudices, superstitions and antiquated ideas as the Jaganath car of their own traditions crushed its victims of yore."

The policy long pursued of placing some selected Natives in the superior rank of the Civil Service, of promoting meritorious Natives to seats in the Legislative Councils and on the Judicial Bench, of improving the emoluments and the pensions for all grades of Native officials, will it is hoped bear fruit in raising their character and their trustworthiness. Combined with these tangible considerations are the moral influences of the new education. Still it is felt that under the conditions of British Rule, the posts where danger might have to be encountered must continue to be held by Europeans.

Under the great latitude allowed for public dis-

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cussion, Associations of educated Natives have been formed which occasionally hold what they call Congresses. Perhaps their debates may be regarded as academic; still they have doubtless unintentionally propounded theories incompatible with British Rule, proposing virtually that Native Assemblies should have control over the finances, while the British Government bears the responsibility of imperial defence. Probably these ideas may die out of themselves, otherwise they should be discouraged.

There has not been within the last very few years any recrudescence in the Native Vernacular Press of that disloyalty which has occasionally obliged the Government to strengthen the laws of repression. Meanwhile the circulation and number of these Newspapers increase greatly.

Upon all this the question arises whether the Hindus have during the nineteenth century lost their originality in poetry, literature, the drama, art and philosophy. Certainly, no more national epics are composed, but the same may be said of every Western country. There is little good poetry written nowadays, and at all events nothing like the verse of such men as Kalidasa, still renowned as the sweet singer of India. In literature they never had much of history, or of any prose except didactic. Since the introduction of state-education during the second half of the nineteenth century they have written much, but according to the annual Reports by the Government of India their writings have been of an ordinary

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character without any marked originality. As to their drama, the stage is still much esteemed and many popular plays are written. But when any grand effect is desired then resort will be had to the plays of the elder time, works of world-wide fame, and translated into many languages, and much the same may be said of the English stage to-day. The old pictorial art is still most highly esteemed, but there is fear lest it should deteriorate by the attempts made under European agency to improve or to advance it. The moral is that while we teach the Indians some things which they never knew before, we should not engraft anything European on the beautiful trees they already have. Of their industrial arts some few (as previously stated) are extinct, but then some additional branches have appeared. The English market has for them been added to the Indian; so on the whole they stand in as high a position as ever, which, take it all in all, is perhaps the highest in the world. Of their philosophy a large part has become obsolete though it has long exercised many of the most studious minds in Europe, and is supposed to have influenced European thought in some directions. Another part, however, seems to be bursting into fresh life and to have a fascinating attraction for some Europeans who fancy that they can catch a guiding light from it under the name of "esoteric Booddhism," and other names pertaining to what is called theosophy. Of the courts and camps among the grandees many are still flourish-

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ing as of yore, though it must be admitted that some of the greatest, such as those of the historic Oojein and Bijayanagar, have disappeared, though not at all through British instrumentality. In regard to palaces it is probable that these buildings nowadays in the Indo-Saracenic style are better than almost any constructed in former days.

After all, there remains the question whether any movement marked with originality has occurred during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Certainly there has, and that may be called Brahmoism in Bengal; at least, that was its first name; there was a movement in Bombay called the Sarva Janik Sabha; and there may have been sub-divisions of these; besides branches in Madras and Southern India. The movements are all in the same direction, and they would probably now fall under the generic name of Vedic. Their purport is the rejection of the polytheism of modern Hinduism or, more exactly speaking, Brahmanism, and reverting to what is presumed to have been the faith of the race when their earliest books were written, named the Vedas. Consequently a Vedic philosophy has been reconstructed, and the new religion would be really described by its professors as Vedic, though the nomenclature may not as yet have been formally or publicly settled. Its substance seems to be a simple theism, with rules for conduct derived from the most ancient Hindu writings. Of these writings the moral effect may well be

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gathered from the book by the late Sir Monier Williams, entitled *Indian Wisdom.* This theistic movement is directly a product of the latter half of the nineteenth century, and its liberality of thought does come from the Western instruction imparted by the British Government. There was hope that the men thus affected would accept Christianity. Such has not been the case, however, for they have taken up Brahmoism instead.

But between the modern Hindu theists and the uncompromising Brahmin priesthood, mentioned above, there is an increasingly large class of Hindus whose faith in the polytheism of the day has been shaken, who are yet not prepared to join the Brahmoist theism or the new Vedic religion, who are still too rationalistic and too speculative to adopt Christianity, who know not what religion to adopt, and who, thus being uncomfortable in themselves are inclined to rail at every other community, and especially attack the British Government, which by its education has caused all this mental unsettlement. They repeat in their own Oriental phrase what has often been said for them by Europeans, that the British have by education taken their own religion from them and have given them nothing in its place. In truth, Britain, not through her Government, lest that should savour of compulsion, but through her private agencies, on a vast scale, offers her own holy Religion though they do not as yet accept it. Still they cavil and complain, not because the British

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Government cannot find them a religion, but because they cannot find one for themselves. This uneasiness has been portrayed by Sir Alfred Lyall in three letters supposed to be written by a Brahmin of this type under the pseudonym of "Vama deo Shastri," and republished quite recently in the Second Series of *Asiatic Studies*. Certainly these letters set forth, better than they have ever been before shown in the English language, the perplexities of a large number of thoughtful Hindus at the present day, and there is nothing better worth reading for those who take an interest in the state of the Hindu mind. Sir Alfred makes his Hindu thus address the British: "With the decay of religious beliefs . . . you are beginning to perceive that where no other authority is recognised, the visible authority is recognised, the visible ruler becomes responsible for everything. You consequently by various devices shift off upon the people themselves the burden of their immense responsibility for their own destinies, and stir them up into accepting it by spirited appeals to their independence, their progress in education and their duty of self-help. In vain, for the mass of the Indian people impute to the English all the confusion and disquietude that have accompanied their sudden introduction, unprepared, into a world of new and strange desires . . . the general unrest produced by the subsidence of old landmarks, religious, social and political. They say that your civilisation and education were none of their seek-

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ing . . . and that foreigners, who set up in India the rushing and screaming locomotive you call Progress, must drive it themselves."

Again the supposed Hindu says: "You offer us your creeds; we cannot accept them with implicit faith, we are such unconvertible rationalists that we should find scope for argument in every metaphysical proposition, or further in reference to God: We are incapable of apprehending a Personality except in the sense of something that marks or represents an incomprehensible nation."

The idea of such Hindu regarding the future state is thus expressed: "The only point in all our Theology of direct interest to humanity in regard to its future destiny is the process of the soul's transmigration through incessant births and deaths, until at last it becomes absorbed in the totality of existencies."

Or again: "The cardinal ideas run through our deeper religious thought. One is the Maya or cosmic illusion which . . . produces unity by exhibiting the universe as a shadow projected upon the white radiance of eternity; the other is the notion of the soul's deliverance by long travail from existence in any stage or shape."

After vainly attempting to think the unthinkable, know the unknowable, fathom the unfathomable, these Hindus will more and more fall into the Vedic theism above described. On the opposite extreme of society the Hinduism will be successful-

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ly attacked by Christianity. But the lower middle class will, for some time to come, follow the present observances of polytheism.

Caste too, even if its religious significance shall fade, must long continue as a social institution. Even those who visit Europe and thereby break their caste rules, have on their return to India to obtain restoration to the caste in which they were born, doubtless after making suitable offerings.

Before quitting the subject of religion it is to be remembered that there are two faiths fully preserved, namely that of the Jains and that of the Parsees—the former is at least as old as the earlier Booddhism, the latter dates from the Zoroaster and the Zendic, one of the primeval religions of the world.

It is noteworthy that despite the Pax Britannica long established, sanguinary conflicts still occasionally occur between either rival religionists, or between hostile castes. There have been three such occurrences within the last decade of this century; one at Bombay, so very grave that the Government were obliged to bring artillery on the ground in order to strike terror into the rioters; one at Calcutta in 1896 when European troops had to be employed; and one in this year, 1899, in the Southern Peninsula, that is in the Madras Presidency.

Lastly there is the question as to how far the Natives are loyal to British Rule. Loyalty and patriotism such as, for example, Britains feel for their country and their constitutions, is not to be expected

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from the Natives of India towards the British Government. Still among them there is much of loyalty and still more of friendly acquiescence. In many cases there is the strongest personal gratitude towards the Government or to its Officers. There is some actual disloyalty here and there as is proved by the political trials at Bombay in 1896. It was seen that among the Western Ghaut mountains there are influential Brahmins who will not submit to British Rule if they can help it, and that they look back to the memory of Sivaji, the national hero, in the hope that some deliverer may reappear. This accords with experience in the same quarter during 1879. In my own book entitled *Men and Events of my Time in India*, published in 1881, there was the following summary or analysis of the subject, which was written then with the freshest knowledge and which doubtless holds good still.

Actively loyal.	I. The princes and chiefs of the Native States.
	II. The banking, trading and industrial classes.
	III. The Zemindars or landlords of permanently settled estates.
Loyal but passive.	IV. The peasant proprietors and the cultivators.
	V. The labourers.
Largely loyal but some the reverse.	VI. The educated classes.
	VII. The Native aristocracy in the British territories.
	VIII. The Hindu and Mohammedan priesthood.

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Excitable and ready for mischief.	IX. The fanatics.
	X. The hangers-on of Courts and Camps of grandees.
	XI. The mob.

Now classes I., II., and III. are quite the most influential in the country, classes IV. and V. quite the most numerous, classes VI., VII. and VIII., though not wholly to be depended on, do yet furnish many good subjects, classes IX., X. and XI. are the only bad ones, and are not numerous. Thus there appears to be, on a reckoning of forces, for and against, a great balance in favour of the British. Added to this preponderance of the Indian classes and masses on the British side, there is the priceless advantage of the clear head, the stout heart, the strong arm, directed by the unity of will, on the part of the British themselves. Moreover there are the appliances of Western science, which are even more potent than physical power.

Inasmuch as the Sovereigns will be mentioned for Japan and China, it is well here to name our own Sovereigns who have been on the throne during the nineteenth century. They are: 1800 to 1820, George III. and the Prince Regent; 1820 to 1830, George IV.; 1830 to 1837, William IV.; 1837 to 1901, Victoria (Queen, Empress of India), who, having commanded boundless respect and loyalty throughout a reign of sixty-three years, was succeeded by her son, Edward VII.

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In India the following have been the Governors-General:

1800–1805—*Marquess Wellesley.* Overthrew the Mahratta Empire, conquered the North-Western Provinces and established the British Power.

1805 —*Marquess Cornwallis* (for the second time). Died in the year of his arrival in India.

1806–1813—*Earl of Minto.* Confirmed, under difficulties, the imperial policy of Marquess Wellesley; subdued Travancore.

1813–1823—*Earl of Moira, Marquess of Hastings.* Completed the reduction of the Mahratta power, undertook war with Nepal, conducted the Pindarry War for the pacification of Central India, extended and developed the British dominion.

1823–1828—*Lord Amherst.* Conducted the first Burmese War, annexed the coast districts and Assam.

1828–1835—*Lord William Bentinck.* Conducted peaceful reform and began a regular system of legislation.

1835 —*Sir Charles Metcalfe.* Established the freedom of the Press.

1836–1842—*Earl of Auckland.* Undertook the First Afghan War.

1842–1844—*Lord, afterwards Earl, Ellenborough.* Finished the Afghan War, annexed Sind.

1844–1848—*Sir Henry, afterwards Viscount, Hardinge.* Conducted the First Sikh War and annexed frontier Territory.

1848–1856—*Earl, afterwards Marquess, Dalhousie.* Conducted the Second War and annexed the Panjab, including Cashmir and North-West frontier; conducted the Second Burmese War and annexed Pegu (Rangoon); annexed Oudh and Nagpore; introduced railways and electric telegraph.

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1856–1862—*Viscount, afterwards Earl, Canning.* Confronted the crisis of the Mutinies and the war relating thereto, first Viceroy and Governor-General.

1862–1864—*Earl of Elgin.* Dealt with threatening disturbances on North-West frontier.

1864–1869—*Sir John, afterwards Lord, Lawrence.* Pursued a steady and peaceful policy on North-West frontier and with Afghanistan; undertook expedition against Bhutan; prosecuted internal improvements of every kind.

1869–1872—*Earl of Mayo.* Conducted negotiations with Ameer Shere Ali of Afghanistan; initiated the system of Provincial Finance.

1872–1876—*Lord, afterwards Earl, of Northbrook.* Pursued steady and peaceful policy with North-West frontier and Afghanistan; established in full practice the principle that the State is to do its utmost in saving life during famine.

1876–1880—*Lord, afterwards Earl, Lytton.* Held Imperial Assemblage at Delhi for proclamation of the Queen as Empress of India; undertook the Second Afghan War; dealt successfully with famine.

1880–1884—*Marquis of Ripon.* Concluded Afghan War; proceeded with system of Local Government in India.

1884–1888—*Earl of Dufferin (afterwards Marquess).* Undertook the Third Burmese War and annexed the Kingdom of Ava.

1888–1893—*Marquess of Lansdowne.* Sent expeditions to settle Eastern frontier; took up currency question and closed mints against free coinage of silver.

1893–1898—*Earl of Elgin.* Undertook war on North-West frontier; dealt successfully with a great famine.

1899 —*Lord Curzon of Kedleston.* Still ruling.

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PART TWO.

JAPAN.

CHAPTER XV.

INTRODUCTION.

In this Part as in the former Part, no attempt at geographical or historical description will be made. Still it is necessary to summarise the important points of Japan, in order that the narrative of its progress during the nineteenth century may be understood.

The name Japan is not Japanese at all, that is to say it is not native. The country was first reported to Europeans by Marco Polo in the twelfth century, under the name of Chipangu. Dr. Murray, one of the latest and best authorities, writes: "The name Chipangu is a transliteration of the Chinese name. . . . From it the Japanese derived the name Nippon, and then prefixed the term dai, or great, making it Dai Nippon, the name which is now used to designate their empire. Europeans transformed the Chinese name into Japan or Japon, by which the country is known to them at present. . . . The is-

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lands composing the empire of Japan are situate in the north-western part of the Pacific Ocean. They are part of the long line of volcanic islands stretching from the peninsula of Kamptschatka on the north to Formosa (the islands) on the south. The direction in which they lie is north-east and south-west, and in a general way they are parallel to the Continent" (of Asia).*

The isles and islets around the main portion of Japan are so numerous, being not only hundreds but thousands in number, as to be styled the Japanese archipelago. But the Japan, as known to Europeans, consists of four adjacent islands. Of this the first and the northernmost is called Yezo. It is mountainous, cold and sparsely inhabited by aboriginal races. It may be interesting to the traveller, the geologist and the ethnologist, but it is of little account, politically or commercially, at present. Near its southern extremity lie the port and town of Hakodate which is rising in importance.

To the south of this, and separated only by a narrow strait, is the main island, which has no distinctive appellation. It used to be called Nippon, but incorrectly, for that name applies, as already seen, not to this island only but to the whole empire. Dr. Murray writes: "Among the Japanese this island has no separate name. It is often called by them

* *Japan*, "Story of the Nations" series, by David Murray, Ph. D., whose orthograghy I adopt, and whose authority I shall cite for the latest version of many events.

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Hondo, which may be translated Main Island. By this translated name this principal island will here be designated." From its northern extremity this island runs mainly south to Tokyo, the modern capital close to the modern port of Yokohama, both places being now very well known to Europeans, a distance of about 590 miles. Thence it runs in a south-westerly direction for about 340 miles, to Shimonoseki, on a strait, also notorious in recent times as the place where the treaty of peace was concluded between China and Japan after the recent war. The total length of the island may thus be stated at 1,130 miles. But as the island is very long so also is it narrow; the width is nowhere greater than 200 miles, and in many places is not more than 100 miles. Down the middle of it, in general terms there runs a range of mountains, largely volcanic, frequently rising to 4,000 feet above sea level or more, and at one point, standing at 12,500 feet. This point is Fuji-san, generally known to Europeans as Fuji-yama; it is an almost perfect volcanic cone, snow-clad for some ten months in the year; it is about sixty miles from Tokyo the capital, and is the pride of the Japanese. Amidst this dividing range, and north of Tokyo, is Nikko now famous among travellers as the seat of much that is most sacred and picturesque in Japan. This range divides the island into two very long and narrow parts, the eastern and the western; and it determines the natural drainage of the country, the rivers hardly

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deserving the name, and the streams with fertile valleys; the territory becomes richer and more open as it advances southwards. On the eastern side the climate is milder and softer, owing to various oceanic influences, on the western side it is colder and harder, facing the Asiatic Continent. On the east side is Tokyo, once the capital of the Shoguns of the feudal system, as known to Europeans in the beginning of the nineteenth century, but now the capital and residence of the Emperor, and the political centre of the Empire; also near it on the south is Yokohama, the principal seaport whose celebrity is chiefly modern. On the west side is situate Kyoto, until quite recent times the Imperial capital and the residence of the Emperor, though perhaps yielding to Tokyo in political consequence. It is now deserted by its august residents, but is still highly regarded as a place replete with memories. Near it is lake Biwa, so called from its resemblance to a certain musical instrument, and greatly admired by those who visit it. On the southern shore of this Main Island is Osaka, the second largest city in Japan, and in the very heart of the country. Near it is Kobè where modern travellers often land.

South of the Main Island are the two islands Shikoku and Kyushu, making the third and fourth of the island group. Between them and the Main Island is the celebrated sheet of salt water named "The Inland Sea." It is about 240 miles long and is studded with innumerable islets, several hundreds

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in number, but it is not likely that they can ever have been really counted. Mr. Chamberlain says that the Japanese poets have never raved over this lovely portion of their native country. To the European traveller, however, it has become a household word, and by many geographers it will probably be regarded as one of the most beauteous expanses of water in the world.

Of the two southern islands, the easternmost or Shikoku has no memorable place. But the westernmost or Kyushu has been one of the most important and distinguished parts of the Empire. On the west side facing the Asiatic Continent is Nagasaki, long a main centre of European trade and still a place where European travellers land. Near it is Deshima the old Dutch settlement. Near the southern extremity of the island is the district of Satsuma, on the whole the most famous district in all Japan, both as regards feudal organisation, achievements in war, prowess of chieftains and ceramic art. Its history may be known only to the student, but its art is admired by all cultured persons everywhere.

The total area of this Island-Empire may be stated at 160,000 square miles, including Formosa and the islets recently ceded. The population was stated at the census by calculations based on enumeration, at 42¼ millions in 1895; it must now be more than 45 millions inasmuch as the yearly returns show a constant excess of births over deaths. It stood at 40½ millions in 1890, when its present constitution was promulgated.

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Respecting religion, the Japanese would be reckoned by statisticians among the total of Boodhists in the world. The question of the religion, or religions, in Japan, will be considered in the succeeding Chapters.

As the Empire of Japan embraces ten or eleven degrees of latitude there will be some difference of climate, as for example between Satsuma in the south and Yezo in the north. The general character of the climate is thus described by Mr. Chamberlain: "Roughly speaking the Japanese summer is hot and occasionally wet; September and the first half of October much wetter; the late autumn and early winter cool, comparatively dry and delightful; February and March disagreeable with snow occasionally . . . the late spring rainy and windy with beautiful days interspersed." * The early summer is the time for seeing the varied display of flowers for which Japan is renowned.

* *Guidebook to Japan*, 1894.

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CHAPTER XVI.

THE STATE OF JAPAN IN 1800.

As a starting-point for the story of the progress of Japan during the nineteenth century, some account must be given of the land and the people as they were about the year 1800.

In the first place the Constitution and the actual Administration of that day must be set forth accurately, though briefly, if the wondrous changes which afterwards came about are to be understood. This Constitution was then, as it had been from a remote antiquity, Imperial in its foundation. The Emperor, or in Japanese the Mikado, was in the eyes of the Japanese heaven-born, was hedged in by a sort of divinity and was the head of the national religion, or of the creeds which made up that composite religion. But if in a certain sense he was the spiritual head of the State, he was the temporal head also. He might delegate, either voluntarily or by the compulsion of circumstances, the governing power to others and himself live in a quasi sacred seclusion. Still the government would be carried on in his name, and for him avowedly. Revolution and civil war might upset great potentates in the country but would

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never touch its Imperial position; and so he was above and beyond the chance of overthrow.

Next, the unit of administration even of the government itself was and always has been, the Daimyo. He was exactly like the feudal lord of Europe in the middle ages, or the chief of a Scottish Highland clan up to the middle of the eighteenth century. He had a certain district greater or smaller according to local circumstances. There were nearly three hundred of these jurisdictions, and they have by Europeans been styled Daimiates. In his jurisdiction the Daimyo was secular in all respects, on the time-honoured conditions that he answered the requirements of the Imperial service, and furnished contingents to its armies in event of war. Under each Daimyo was a military class, styled Samurai, the upper grades of whom were like the knights of the feudal system in Europe. Their status, traditions and privileges were as old as those of the Daimyos themselves. In some respects they resembled the Cossacks of the Don. They were so distinct from the rest of their countrymen that they resembled a caste as it is understood in India. In their beginning they were like the fighting caste of the early Hindus. Each of them had the right to carry two swords, one longer the other shorter. But in later times they took the lead in matters other than warlike. Dr. Murray gives in their favour a testimony so emphatic that it deserves citation: "In the large cities . . . the arrogance and overbearing pride of the

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Samurai made them an intolerable nuisance. Nevertheless it must be allowed that nearly all that was good and high-minded and scholarly in Japan was to be found among the ranks of the feudal retainers. . . . They were the students who went out into the world to learn what Western science had to teach them. . . . To them Japan owes its ancient, as well as its modern system of education."

At this time, that is 1800, their purely civil virtues had not attained full development, and they afterwards did many other important things as will be seen hereafter.

In ancient times, and generally up to about the year 1150 of our era, the Daimyos took orders direct from the Emperor, or his Ministers in the Court attached to his person. There were governors over provinces containing several Daimiates, who would be civilian statesmen taken from the noble families around the Court. Still everything was under the Emperor without any intermediary. At this epoch, that is the end of the twelfth century, there was a potent and ambitious chief of a clan, a great Daimyo by name Yoritomo, the leading figure in Japanese history. After desperate fighting by land and water, he got the power of the State into his mailed hand, though he never dreamt of deposing the Emperor. He waited on His Imperial Majesty at Kyoto, but seeing that place too priest ridden, and too effeminate for effective government, he moved his puissance to the other side of the island and set up his establish-

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ment, but not a royal court, at Kamakura not far from the modern Yokohama. What followed thereon is a turning point in Japanese history, and shall be given in Dr. Murray's words: "He (Yoritomo) was authorised to send into each province a military man who was to reside there and aid the civil Governor in military affairs. Naturally the military man, being more active, gradually absorbed much of the power formerly exercised by the governor. These military men were under the authority of Yoritomo, and formed the beginning of that feudal system which was destined to prevail so long in Japan. He also received from the Court, shortly after his visit to Kyoto, the title of '*Sei. i. tai shogun,*' which was the highest military title that had ever been bestowed on a subject. This is the title which down to 1868 was borne by the real rulers of Japan."

The military head of the feudal system, which was then founded and which became well known to Europeans in later days, naturally intended that his position should be hereditary. And so it was, while the possessor was strong enough to hold his own. But the clan of Yoritomo was not the only powerful one in Japan. After him there were several changes in the line of succession, brought about by rival Daimyos often with extreme violence. In 1596 Taiko Hideyoshi, whose name is highly celebrated in Japanese history, but who was not a Daimyo at all, being only a soldier of fortune and of humble origin, overturned by force the then Shogun, though he did

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not himself reach the Shogunate. After his death Ieyasu, also a soldier of fortune, defeated his rivals in a bloody battle at Seki-ga-hara in 1600. Dr. Murray writes: "This battle must always stand . . . as one of the decisive battles in the history of Japan. By it was settled the fate of the country for two hundred and fifty years,"—that is from 1600 to 1850. He was appointed Shogun by the Emperor in 1603, not in virtue of birth but as having the actual power. He then founded the Tokugawa line of Shoguns, and moved the headquarters of the Shogunate to Yedo at the head of the Yokohama Gulf as it is now known, and there he built his castle which is still to be seen. It was this Tokugawa dynasty which sat, not on the throne, but on the seat of power, in the year 1800.

Though Ieyasu was an excellent soldier in the field, and may also be said to have waded through blood to his position, yet he was a capital manager of foreign affairs and proved himself to be a good organiser in civil affairs. Dr. Murray writes: "The common conception of Ieyasu is not that of a great commander like Hideyoshi, but rather an organiser and lawmaker, who . . . constructed a firm and abiding State." He was considerate, indeed conciliatory, in his management of the turbulent Daimyos. He re-classified them with a view to bettering the feudal administration; and the total number of their five sections was fixed at 263. He divided the people into four classes, first the Samu-

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rai or feudal retainers already mentioned, to whom he assigned a status over the other three classes, namely the farmers second, as a feudal system is based on land, then thirdly the artisans whom he greatly esteemed especially for their sword-making, then fourthly merchants, and his placing them last indicated what indeed proved to be the case for many generations, that Japan was not awake to a glimmer of perception regarding the importance of trade. This division of his bears some resemblance to the castes of India. From his division however he excludes the priestly class, for whom he does not venture to prescribe anything. He was deferential to the old Shinto system or faith if it could be called so, and to the later Booddhism, which had by his time been accepted more or less by most of the people. He wished to tolerate all religious sects except the Christian which he described as "a false and corrupt school." He was a diligent patron of learning and especially favoured the introduction of the philosophy of Confucius from China, apparently because that sage inculcated the doctrine of obedience in all grades, a doctrine which was conducive to the permanence of a feudal system.

Though this Chapter does not embrace any parts of Japanese history save those which bear upon the conditions existing in 1800, yet some notice must be given to the policy of Ieyasu in respect to Christianity—and this will be reserved for a separate Chapter. It is enough here to say that the extirpation of

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Christianity by force left Booddhism in triumphant possession of the field. This naturally leads to a brief consideration of what was the religion, or the religions of Japan about the year 1800. In Japan, as in China, it could not be said that one religion prevailed with certain classes or in certain places, and another religion with, or in, others. Indeed there were two observances prevalent throughout Japan, and with all Japanese, one, that of the Shinto and the other that of Booddha, with all its modern accessories and additions.

The Shinto is the original faith of the Japanese or "animistic" according to the present phraseology. Its origin need not here be traced; sufficient now to say that out of much grotesque mythology there was evolved a sun-goddess from whom sprang the line of Mikados or Emperors which still exists. Hence that divine character of the imperial race and lineage, in the eyes of the people, which will be seen hereafter to have such potent effect on Japanese politics. There was a chain of ceremonial observances, chiefly ancestral, lasting through many centuries. There were no articles of faith properly so called, no images nor visible gods. But there were temples everywhere in town and country, on plain and hill, extreme simplicity being their characteristic. Whether Shintoism ever was a religion properly so called has always been doubted. It probably approached more nearly to a religion in the year 1800 than it does now. Then the Emperor, in his Court at Kyoto, was the

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visible head and centre of the national idea, that is the Shinto; he was the descendant of the Sun-goddess, and his surroundings were sacred. His personal observances were all Shinto, and his spiritual claims were all derived therefrom. It was this position which caused some observers to suppose erroneously that he was only the spiritual head of Japan, while the Shogun was the temporal head. He was both spiritual and temporal head, while the Shogun was his deputy only in temporalities.

But while the Emperor was in the strictest sense the spiritual head of the Shinto, he also recognised the Booddhist religion. Whether he was equally head of that also in Japan may be doubted, still he was looked up to by the Booddhists as their head upon earth if there was any. He had Booddhist priests and temples about him.

In the sixth century of our era Booddhism, then at least a thousand years old, had been introduced into Japan. For a while it advanced only among the nobles. Later on some preachers, who had been in China, taught that Booddha was the great spirit from whom the Shinto myths, heroes, goddesses and emperors had sprung. This combination caused Booddhism to be popular. In the thirteenth century two famous preachers appeared, since which time Booddhism has been the real religion of Japan. But it became overlaid with superstitions and manifold abuses. It is from the followers of one of these teachers, Nichiren, that the fanatics of Japan have

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always come. On the other hand there arose a reforming party named Shin-Shins who introduced a far purer faith with much persuasive effect.

Such then were the two religions firmly established and richly endowed throughout Japan. The account of them can here be given in the most general terms only. The determination of many indefinite points regarding them would involve much discussion without any practical effect. Suffice it here to state that they received universal acceptance, popular devotion and the utmost support from the temporal power.

The civil government in the interior under the Daimyos was not ill-conducted or oppressive. It was doubtless rough and ready but not unpopular; was seldom resisted with violence and therefore rarely resorted to severity. The Samurai might be overbearing, sometimes also the Booddhist priests; otherwise there was no particular grievance. The land was held by peasant-proprietors who paid the land-revenue to the Daimyos. The labourers were industrious and cheerful. Though there were crimes and criminals, still the people generally were well behaved and temperate, but in some domestic respects were supposed to be wanting in strictness. They felt themselves to be brave and enduring, though their self-confidence arose from the memory of times long past and not from any trial in recent generations. Owing to the established policy of the State, there was an utter want of enterprise and an

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entire ignorance of everything beyond their own shores. But in the industrial arts they generally possessed an accuracy of sight, a fineness of perception, an exquisite power of handiwork for the embodiment of the most refined ideas—which indicated nervous force and determined thought.

As the peninsula of Korea lies just opposite Japan, with only a breadth of about a hundred miles of sea between them, it has ever been and will be a point of high interest to the Japanese. It is indeed naturally regarded by them as nearly concerning their national independence, as it is an offshoot of Manchuria, which is an integral part of the Chinese Empire. As that Empire seemed in former days to overshadow Japan, the Japanese feared lest Chinese dominion should be established in Korea. At one time, that is just before the establishment of the Tokugawa line of Shoguns, Japan had attempted under the usurper Hideyoshi to conquer Korea, and had failed after a fearful effusion of blood both Korean and Japanese. It succeeded indeed only in ruining the country irreparably. In this cruel invasion one of the Japanese leaders was the Daimyo of Satsuma. When returning from this war to his native Satsuma, he brought with him seventeen families of Korean potters and settled them in his province. They have lived there ever since and retain the marks of their nationality. It is to them that the Satsuma *faïence* owes its exquisite beauty and its world-wide reputation. Afterwards the Tokugawa

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Shogun, namely Ieyasu, made a formal peace between Korea and Japan, which endured for two centuries and a half, that is until the growing disorder in Korea itself caused questions to arise between China and Japan which led to the war that towards the close of the nineteenth century vitally affected both of these empires. This war, however, was due to troubles which may be traced back to the Japanese invasion of 1591. It was then that Korea was so weakened and so wounded inwardly that it became unable to maintain order internally. The state of Korea about that time, 1607, is seen from this melancholy passage in Dr. Murray's work:

"The ruinous effects of this invasion were never overcome in Korea itself. Her cities had been destroyed, her industries blotted out, and her fertile fields rendered desolate. Once she had been the fruitful tree from which Japan was glad to gather her arts and civilisation, but now she was only a branchless trunk which the fires of war had charred and left standing."

Still from that time, 1607 to 1800, peace reigned between Korea and Japan. Indeed the policy of the Japanese resulted in an exclusiveness whereby they shut themselves out from all foreign intercourse, permitting no foreign trade except at one spot in their south-eastern extremity, hugging their own notions, feeding on their own ideas, preserving their own customs, arrangements and even armament, how-

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ever antiquated they might be. Her soldiers were clad in grotesque armour, with mediæval weapons; her warships were only junks, her armaments were decaying from disuse. Thus in 1800 Japan was in peace at home and abroad, with a feudal system answering for internal order, with feudal chiefs or princes, as Daimyos, popular, influential and potent in their several districts, with a feudal head or governor, the Shogun at Yedo, and an Emperor reputed to be divine, dreaming his placid days away at Kyoto.

As the cultured classes in all countries have seen for several centuries, the Japanese are endowed with high artistic talent in many respects. The whole land being, in 1800, governed by wealthy families, proud of their belongings and surroundings, there arose a great demand for beautiful products of refined loveliness, in harmony with the climatic condition which, though not enervating, were generally soft. Thus Japan had long been, and still was in 1800 a fit nurse for artistic, if not poetic, children. Though the most famous sculptors and painters lived before 1650, yet from that date to 1800, there glided on the golden time for the acme and zenith of Japanese art. The like of it in the sum total of achievement had never been seen before and probably will not be so afterwards. In variety and extent it may be surpassed in India, in richness of colouring and in brilliancy of effect it may be exceeded in

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China. But for artistic quality of colouring, for appropriateness of effect, for originality of design, for observation of natural objects, for perfection of handiwork in metal, in wood, in ivory, in lacquer, it remains as yet unequalled in the world.

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CHAPTER XVII.

THE JESUITS AND CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN.

THE subject of Roman Catholic Christianity in Japan is too sad and too sacred to be combined with the ordinary history of the Tokugawa Shoguns, and had best be treated of in a Chapter by itself.

In the year 1800 there were edicts of the Shoguns still published by placards against these Christians as among the standing orders of the Government. These were continuations of edicts which had been repeatedly issued from time to time during the past two centuries. There was still in Yedo an official styled the Christian Inquisitor with a staff of assistants for the extinguishing any spark of Christianity. It may seem strange that such steps should be persevered in when the Government had long ago boasted of the complete extinction of what they called "the corrupt sect." But they knew that, despite all their precautions, some scattered communities were still existing who followed the observances of their faith secretly, and whose members could not be individually identified, and who were never betrayed either by renegades or by neighbours. These circumstances were thought to be dangerous to the Japanese polity, especially as there was ever a lurk-

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ing dread of support being afforded to the Christians from European sources.

This form of Christianity had been introduced into Japan early in the sixteenth century by Jesuit fathers, among whom was St. Francis Xavier. Starting from Nagasaki they met with conclusive success throughout the island of Kyushu. Daimyos and princes, their followers and retainers, their people, all joined the Missionaries. They built churches and colleges, with a Portuguese and Spanish hierarchy. They crossed the Inland Sea, settled themselves happily at Osaka on its shores and passed on to the Imperial City at Kyoto. Hereabouts Booddhism was particularly strong; but just then a leader, in the civil war then going on, had a contest with the Booddhists, and that induced him to favour the Christians, who thus grew in strength all around Kyoto. Then Christian Daimyos with Christian Samurais took part in the civil war, and so the Christians offered a considerable native contingent to the Japanese commander whose side they espoused. About this time it was computed that the Christians numbered not less than six hundred thousand persons, including men of wealth, status, landed power and influence. This was a goodly portion of the population as it then was during the latter part of the sixteenth century in the finest part of Japan. They sent two Japanese Christian Princes under Jesuit guidance to Southern Europe who were received with the greatest

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pomp in Portugal, in Spain and at the Vatican by Gregory XIII. This step of theirs was surely dangerous, unless they were quite sure of their position, for thereby the suspicions of the Japanese Government might be aroused lest foreign support was being indirectly sought.

In the latter part of the 16th century such suspicion actually arose in the mind of Hideyoshi, the famous leader already mentioned. He apprehended that, with Christian help among the Japanese, either Spain or Portugal, or both, designed to carve out European States in Japan. He thought he had some evidence to this effect; it was feeble and slender, still he believed. At that time Spain was hardly capable of such a design, but Portugal might have become so. The Jesuit fathers were by the rules of their Order precluded from any such policy. But jealous Franciscans and Dominicans had arrived in Japan, and they may have spread mischievous rumours. Dutch traders, too, came, naturally smarting under Spanish oppression in the Low Countries, and doubtless they said their very worst against the Jesuits. Be the process of belief what it may, Hideyoshi came to believe that Jesuit Christianity was striking at the very root of Japanese independence. But he did not live to take any decisive measure. After him the civil war resulted in the re-establishment of the Feudal Shogunate under Ieyasu. Then the same belief against the Christians grew in the mind of the Shogun Ieyasu, and it caused a persecution that left

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a black and ineffaceable stain on the history of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

In the last Chapter mention has been made, in reference to Roman Catholic Christianity, of Ieyasu's parting fulmination, for such indeed it proved to be. In the last year of his government a terrific persecution of these Christians began. It was continued by his son and completed by his grandson, both considered good Shoguns politically, and the latter great as well as good. Its horrors were too dreadful for description, indeed they are not exceeded and rarely equalled in the grim records of persecution in any time or country. Dr. Murray writes thus, after much examination of evidence: "It has never been surpassed for cruelty and brutality on the part of the persecutors or for courage and constancy on the part of those who suffered. . . . The tortures inflicted are almost beyond belief." * The horrors raged from about Kyoto and Osaka on the mainland to the southern extremity of the island of Kyushu. The Christians of all ranks and classes, from the Prince to the peasant, stood by one another, without the least thought of surrendering their faith to the armed force of their own countrymen. Hecatombs of slaughter, fiendish tortures, produced no effect at all. No effort, however diabolical, was spared to

* From my own inquiries I understand that enlightened Japanese do not deny the severity of the persecution; they only urge in extenuation the strength of what they regard as the patriotic motive.

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obtain recantation; here and there a victim, European or Japanese, frenzied out of his senses by torture, may have made a feeble sign which was interpreted by their tormentors as retractation; but nothing more than this most pitiful result was obtained. * For some time the repressive efforts were conducted by the provincial authorities, and the Christians, though very numerous, were scattered, and thus were able to endure only but not resist. At length a mass of surviving Christians resolved to resist. They appointed a leader, occupied a vacant castle near Nagasaki, collected stores, and with the help of Christian Samurais inured to warfare, organised a defence. The provincial authorities, unable to take the place, applied to the Shogun at Yedo for aid, who sent a large body of troops. These troops together with the provincial levies made up a besieging force of 160,000 † men wherewith to breach and storm the last stronghold of Japanese Christianity. The Dutch from their trading settlement in the neighbouring island lent some slight aid to the Shogun against those who were their co-religionists, even though belonging to a different Church, a circumstance disgraceful to them, which they vainly strove to palliate. The stronghold being captured at last, every Christian, man, woman and child, in it was executed by orders from Yedo. As

* For one ordinary form of the prescribed recantation see Chamberlain's *Guidebook*, p. 107.

† This number is given on the authority of Dr. Murray.

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might be expected, a religion thus extirpated was cherished in secret; the memory of Francis Xavier is revered, and on lowly Jesuit tombs fresh flowers are periodically placed by unknown hands which the authorities with all their inquisition never discover.

These remarkable events have been freely discussed by Christian writers belonging to Churches other than the Church of the Jesuits. Some of these seem to think that the Jesuit movement was, at bottom, political rather than religious, and that these Japanese Christians had embraced the Religion with little more than an adaptation of their own ceremonies, rites and idols to its service and ordinances, and without any heartfelt acceptance of its real teaching or its holy doctrines. To all this it may be replied that beyond doubt Ieyasu and his successors had a lively belief in the political danger to be apprehended from these Christians, but that no tangible ground was ever found for this belief. Unless their belief had been positive they would not have acted as they did. They happened to be mild, prudent and conciliatory men; not likely to be roused to murderous passion, save by some overmastering fear for the fate of their own country. Again it may be admitted that the Jesuits did unduly endeavour to adapt their teachings of the One true Faith to the prejudices of their Japanese hearers, and did but too often assimilate the externals of their services to the insignia of the native religions, thus making in their zeal for conversion some compromise or sacrifice of

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Christian principle. But here their error ceased. They must have inculcated with undying forcefulness much of what is most striking, touching, elevating and inspiring in Christianity. Otherwise their Japanese martyrs and heroes, of both sexes, of all ages and classes, could never have endured as they did to the hardest of ends. Every worldly motive, love of fatherland and of fellow countrymen, every political advantage, personal safety for selves and families, impelled them towards a broad and easy road. They chose the short and rugged path leading to physical agony and to execution, with a constancy and fortitude that showed how love of Faith can be as strong as death, and how jealousy for the truth can be as bitter as the grave. A monument ought to be raised in the memories of European Christendom to their Japanese fellow Christians who suffered and perished in the early part of the seventeenth century.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

THE SHOGUNATE OR FEUDAL SYSTEM FROM 1800 TO 1853.

It has been shown how at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Tokugawa Shogunate, or Feudal system, stood at the height of ascendency in the government of Japan. The progress of this government has now to be traced to the middle of the nineteenth century, when circumstances began to prepare the way for change. Until that time, that is from 1800 to 1850, the course of this government ran with a smoothness rarely to be paralleled in any other civilised country for so long a space as half a century. There was no trouble of any consequence either at home or abroad, and there reigned a peace which, though not unknown in the seventeenth and eighteenth century for Japan, was wholly different from anything that had been known in the preceding centuries. For the first half of the nineteenth century Japan afforded a typical instance of a nation being happy that has no history.

Dr. Murray gives an instructive summary of the dates, the reigns, the ends of the several series of Shoguns, from Yoritomo in the year 1192. Yori-

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tomo indeed died a natural death, but his next two successors, son and grandson, were murdered. The next series of rulers were called "the shadow Shoguns," because they were always minors under the leading strings of chieftains, and their several fates can readily be imagined. After that, for a century and more, the Shogun of the day was usually dethroned or murdered, occasionally was he allowed to die in peace. Next came a strong series of Shoguns (Ashikaga) which lasted for more than two centuries, beginning with long reigns and peaceful deaths, but ending in bloodshed and civil war. Thus we reach the year 1573. Then began a time styled that of the usurpation, which lasted till 1602. In this quarter of a century the Japan Commanders, among whom was Hideyoshi, already mentioned, and the Japanese troops displayed many of the best military qualities, if only they had been fighting with a foreign foe instead of with each other. Then Ieyasu in 1602 established the Tokugawa Shogunate as already seen. So there began a happy series of Shoguns, with long reigns and quiet deathbeds, till 1787, with one exception only when in 1709 the Shogun was killed by his wife. In 1787, then, the Shogun Ienari assumed at Yedo the Shogunate which he occupied at the opening of the nineteenth century and held till 1836, a long tenure of fifty-nine years. He then resigned in favour of his son and died five years later. It was a sort of custom in this series of Shoguns for the Shogun to retire in favour

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of his son. So Ienari the Shogun was succeeded by his son Ieyoshi.

There is nothing to be recorded for all this time regarding the Emperors, who reigned only and did not take any part in State affairs. But it is to be remarked that in two long reigns Empresses were in sole occupation of the Imperial throne; one Empress (Myosho) reigning from 1630 to 1696; the other (Go-Sackuramachi) reigning from 1763 to 1813. The latter consequently was on the throne at Kyoto when the nineteenth century opened.

The constitution of the Shogunate under the Tokugawa has been described briefly in the previous Chapter. It was fully maintained under the Shogun Ienari, who was in the seat of power at Yedo in 1800. During several generations his predecessors had acquired possession of fiefs and castles in various parts of the country so as to overawe any Daimyos who might possibly prove troublesome. All the Daimyos were obliged to have residences at Yedo under the eye of the Shogun, and to live there for a part of the year. Still the administration in each district, subject always to the supervision of the Shogun's lieutenants, was left to the feudal Daimyos who indeed understood their people thoroughly. Meanwhile the impression grew that owing to the extraordinarily long peace of two centuries, to the quietude and isolation of the country, to the internal prosperity which seemed to grow apace without much political exertion on the part of any one, the Sho-

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guns had lost to a great extent their original character and were still further losing it during the tenure of each succeeding reign. Originally it was held that the Mikado or Emperor at Kyoto being effeminate and effete the Shogun at Yedo must be active and ever to the front in defensive and warlike preparation, and in personal supervision. But at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and indeed some time before that era, effeminacy had begun to creep over Yedo as well, and love of ease had impaired the vigour of the Shoguns. Dr. Murray writes of them: "On the whole they were content to fill the office of Shogun in a perfunctory manner and to leave to subordinates the duty of governing." Thus the Shogun, though still as grand and powerful as ever in external appearance, was yet suffering from a gradual loss of political repute and official prestige. This circumstance is noteworthy here, because it was one of the causes which sapped the foundations of the Shogunate and led to the catastrophe in which it was afterwards involved.

The national success in industrial art, though not permitted to bring to Japan that satisfaction which comes from the admiration of other nations, did yet delight an appreciative nation like the Japanese and make them feel proud of themselves. Their artistic taste was fostered by the scenery (in Mr. Chamberlain's words), "with the symmetrical outline of its volcanoes, with its fantastic rocks, its magnificent timber which somehow, even when growing naturally,

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produces the impression of having been planted for artistic effect. . . . Every variety of scenery, from the gracefully lovely to the ruggedly grand, is to be found . . . in this beautiful land, a fitting abode for the most æsthetic of modern peoples."

The acme of Japan's ancient greatness had been reached. It was like a bloom that had been some time at its best and was now about to fall. The arts were still in their prime. Dr. Murray mentions "the arts which had given her (Japan) such a deservedly high rank, attained their greatest perfection. Keramics and lacquer, which are her most exquisite arts, achieved a degree of excellence to which we can now only look back with hopeless admiration. Metal-work, as shown in the manufacture of bronze and in the forging and mounting of swords, was scarcely less notable."

At this time the Shoguns Government did its utmost to keep all these beautiful things to itself, its land, its people. Its darling ambition was to receive nothing from other nations and so to render nothing in return. Since the growth of the political fears which induced them to extirpate Christianity, as already explained, the Shoguns, the Daimyos and the Japanese generally, resolved to have nothing to do with European nations. All ports were closed against Europeans generally, none of them were allowed to trade except the Dutch, and that at one port only, Nagasaki, and there, too, at a fixed locality and to a limited extent. All this time Europe

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was almost entirely dependent on the Dutch for news and information relating to Japan. This prejudice, so strongly felt by the Chinese as to cause grievous detriment and ultimately disaster, was equally felt by the Japanese at this time. Later on this feeling was expressed racily by a Daimyo of the old school, as may be seen from Dr. Murray's *Japan*. "What! trade our gold, silver, copper, iron, and sundry useful materials for wool, glass and similar trashy little articles? Even the limited barter of the Dutch factory ought to have been stopped."

As might be expected under a feudal system the civil administration in the districts, or Daimiates, was entirely under the Daimyos. Still there were codes, laws, precedents, of a somewhat full, even elaborate character, which must more or less have been under the supervision of the Government. There is every reason to believe that the people were prosperous and contented. If the Samurai class, already mentioned, did hold their heads high, yet their superiority was admitted.

There was something like education; it doubtless resembled that which was well known in China, though not pushed to similar extremes. The progress in science was by no means equal to that made in the arts.

Thus the government of Ienari the Shogun pursued its course like a meandering river, in the popular, but vain, belief that by folding herself up in a robe of exclusiveness and ignoring the outer world

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Japan was working out her own destiny in her own way.

The only circumstances that disturbed this even tenor were occasional attempts by European Powers or by their representatives to gain admission within the charmed circle of Japan. These were, however, all staved off or brushed away. The most persistent were the Russians, they being of course the nearest and almost conterminous, and their efforts did not cease until the imprisonment of Captain Galotin in 1811.

Thus Ienari, the Shogun, having long passed his jubilee of government, resigned in 1836, in favour of his son Ieyoshi and died, a few years afterwards, in 1841. Perhaps he little thought that he was to be the last of the long line of Shoguns to lay down his power in peace and quietude.

In 1837 Ieyoshi, the new Shogun, began to rule, probably imagining that his time of government would be as undisturbed as that of his father and of his ancestors had been. But almost immediately there began the trouble with European or Western Powers, who knocked at the door of Japan for the admission of commerce. This trouble was destined to grow and grow till, within one generation from 1837, it upset the mediæval government of Japan and entirely altered the condition of the country and the people. The first effort was made by the American brig Morrison in 1837, but in vain. This was however followed up with increasing persistency by

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the British surveying ship Samarang in 1845, by Captain Cooper in the same year, by Commodore Biddle in 1848, by Admiral Cecille in the same year, by Commodore Glynn in 1849, and by Commander Matheson in the same year. All these Officers made efforts to communicate with the Shogun's Government, but were rebuffed. They do not seem to have ever got further than Nagasaki. Seeing all this the Dutch traders at Nagasaki must doubtless have made some representations to their own Government, for in 1844 a letter was received by the Shogun from the King of Holland, asking for further commercial facilities. But the request was refused under cover of the well-worn excuses. The Shogun Ieyoshi, though thankful that these dreaded foreigners had not succeeded in coming anywhere within sight of his capital and had never with their ships ploughed the inner waters of Japan, yet he must have felt anxious on account of the frequent repetitions of the attempts. He must have heard of their novel armaments indicating a progress scientifically irresistible as against the worn-out armaments of older days. Even if he felt any confidence, because his rebuffs and refusals had been so far tolerated, still he must have asked himself the question, What if some day the foreigners with their superior armaments were to apply force? He could not have been ignorant of the obsolete and inefficient state of his own national defences. As was said shortly afterwards by one of the best among his Daimyos, "peace and prosperity

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of long duration have enervated the spirit, rusted the armour and blunted the swords of our men." Further the Shogun must have heard reports, vague perhaps, but disquieting, that a more important expedition than any as yet known was on its way from America towards Japan. It must have been with troubled thoughts and gloomy forebodings, not knowing what to do, that Ieyoshi the Shogun fell sick unto death in 1853. With his death the old order of things was to pass away, and Japan was to learn the oft-inculcated lesson that for national safety there is but vanity in art without science, in popular spirit without organisation, in bravery without discipline, in armament without progress, in veneration for the past without regard for the future. At that time in Japan there were able leaders, gallant soldiers, a loyal and patriotic people. But there was no warship of modern construction, no fort that would stand against artillery, no arms of any precision, no guns that would carry any distance, no equipment or accoutrement fit for the warfare of the time.

At this moment of the national existence, on the 8th July, 1853, the most important day that had ever yet dawned on Japan, the American squadron of four vessels under Commodore Perry, entered Yedo bay. It is not likely that the Shogun was able personally to give much attention to this momentous occurrence with which his perplexed Ministers and agitated Daimyos had to deal. As he

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died in the following month, August 25th (1853), he may be allowed to quit the historic stage at this juncture. Inasmuch as Commodore Perry's arrival led to a long course of critical events, it will be well to take them all in due sequence one after the other in the following Chapter. Ieyoshi the Shogun was on his death succeeded by his son Iesada.

If his father, Ieyoshi, had been the last of the Shoguns to die in quietude, so he, Iesada, was the last of the Shoguns to die amidst the fidelity of the Japanese to the old Feudal system of which he was the head. From the beginning of the century the moral foundation of the Shogun's authority had been growing weaker and weaker; perhaps by this time, that is the middle of the century, it had become almost undermined. A dual government of the Emperor at Kyoto and the Shogun at Yedo could be justified in the eyes of the Japanese only by the Shogunate being always strong and effective. Now for some generations the Shoguns had shown themselves destitute of personal force, had been delegating their work of governance to their Ministers, had been sinking by degrees into a condition of inertia and effeminacy. All this constituted the very reproach which had in older days been levelled against the Emperors at Kyoto, and in reference to which the Feudal Shoguns had been established at Yedo. If then the Shoguns were to be held blameable and unworthy of rule in the same respect as that wherein the Emperors of old had been blamed, and if under

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the modern Shoguns the government was to be left to the Ministers as it had been under the Emperors of old, then patriotic Japanese began to ask themselves whether there were any use in keeping up the Shogunate, and whether it were not better to revert to the Imperial rule directly without any intermediate authority like the Shogun. It is to be remembered that in these days as in olden days there had been, and still were, many patriots among the Samurais, the most influential class in Japan as shown in a previous Chapter. Moreover many Daimyos who had submitted to the Shogun of the day because he was necessary as being effective, ceased to care for him as he became personally non-effective, and in that case preferred serving directly under the Emperor. The popular reverence for the Emperor as semi-divine, notwithstanding his seclusion and obscurity in Kyoto, was still a factor in Japanese politics. Even before the pressure from Foreign Powers had been severely felt, the careful observer of the Japanese could probably perceive that the Shogunate, though externally grand, was from inner canker too weak to withstand any hard shock which might come from without. And it was a shock of this very kind that was about to occur; for an American squadron under Commodore Perry had entered the Yedo waters.

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CHAPTER XIX.

FALL OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM FROM 1853 TO 1868.

In September, 1853, Iesada succeeded his late father (Ieyoshi) as the thirteenth Shogun of the Tokugawa line of the Shogunate. His accession made no difference in the conduct of affairs, and he had but a brief tenure of four years, for he died in 1857. In that short time he saw the old policy of his predecessors, two centuries and a half old, quite reversed, with a new policy introduced and virtually settled, though amidst much national discontent, which made the continued existence of the Shogunate almost impossible.

Meanwhile Commodore Perry and his squadron of four warships had come and gone. Despite warnings conveyed by the Dutch at Nagasaki, among others, the arrival of the Americans in Yedo bay caused intense excitement and utter surprise among the Japanese that were like the men in the proverb who, after they have constantly heard that the wolf is coming, are astonished when he does come at last. The Commodore placed his vessels clearly within sight of spectators from Yedo, that all might view the blue-jackets and the guns pointed right and left. In the first moments of their agony the Japanese

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officials tried to persuade him to turn back, leave the bay, and proceed to Nagasaki, there to make such representations as he might desire. This attempt of theirs was evidently futile, as he had entered the bay and appeared within sight of Yedo for the express purpose of impressing the Shogun's Government with the gravity of the demand which was to be made for some treaty to facilitate trade between Japan and the United States. He naturally replied that he had a friendly letter from the President of the United States to be delivered to the Shogun, and that until this had been done, he would not quit his anchorage. After that an officer of suitable rank was sent from the Shogun to receive the letter. Thereon the Commodore and his squadron departed on 17th July with an intimation that he would soon call again to ask for the answer.

The first scene of the drama being over, the Shogun's Government was left in dire perplexity. It felt sure that Commodore Perry would ere long return in force. It knew that as the Officer of a civilised government he would not use such force merely to extort a treaty, but that if, owing to the hostility of the populace, any violent act were committed then he would retaliate, and so war would begin, while the antiquated defences of the country would offer no protection against modern ordnance. It was conscious of latent disaffection against the Shogunate which would swell and grow apace if the Shogun, yielding to foreign pressure, should be in-

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strumental in breaking down the old barriers of Japanese exclusiveness. So the Government adopted a characteristic preliminary, by sending a circular letter to all the Daimyos asking their opinion on the crisis. Most of them counselled resistance, using sonorous language quite beside the truth of the situation, and showing ignorance of the national weakness in any contest with Western power. Still they were hearty and patriotic, melted down the beautiful bells of their monasteries, sent their Samurais in multitudes to Yedo to take lessons in European small arms and artillery. The Government well knew how useless these brave preparations would be if a conflict with Western warships should arise, and awaited in calm despair the next move that the Americans might make.

Attention was for a moment diverted by another event, namely the arrival of a Russian Admiral at Nagasaki to arrange the delimitation of the boundary of Russia and Japan in the North Pacific across the island of Saghalien.

Then early in the following year, 1854, Commodore Perry returned to the bay of Yedo. On this his second visit he had with him ten vessels of war. At a little village, close to the site of what has since become the seaport of Yokohama, the Shogun signed a treaty with the American Government, which was big with the fate of the existing Government in Japan. The Shogun with his Ministers well knew that by thus signing they would become involved in a strug-

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gle with their own countrymen. On the other hand he feared that by refusing to sign they would have to face hostilities with the American squadron. So as a choice of evils he decided, though with infinite regret and hesitation, to sign. This he did in March, 1854, and thus was promulgated the first Treaty ever made by Japan with a foreign power. It was not fully a commercial treaty but a preliminary arrangement with a view to commerce. It was followed by a similar arrangement with Britain, in October of the same year, with Russia early in the following year, 1855, and with the Netherlands in 1856. As predicted by the Japanese objectors, Japan having made the concession to the United States, had to make the same to the several European Powers. Each Power obtained permission to enter two ports, but the same two ports were not chosen always by each Power. The ports ultimately opened for foreign access were Nagasaki in the south-western extremity of the island of Kyushu, Hakodate on the strait between the northern island of Yezo and the main island, and Shimoda at the mouth of the bay of Yedo, or as it would now be called of Yokohama.

As the hapless Shogun must have foreseen, these Treaties caused intense discontent and excitement throughout Japan. Immediately two political parties arose with party names, one comparatively feeble in favour of opening the country, the other and far stronger demanding the expulsion of the barbarians as the phrase ran. At the head of the anti-foreign

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party was the popular Daimyo of Mito and his redoubtable Samurais. The Americans, however, through their consul, represented that the Treaty did not go far enough and asked for a full commercial treaty. But the Shogun, in view of the rising discontent in Japan, hesitated. He heard however that the British were coming with their ships to make a similar request, and so he gave way. Then with the several Powers were signed Commercial Treaties in 1858. It was under these Treaties that the foreign trade has been conducted up to the most recent time. Osaka and Yedo were opened to foreign trade in addition to the places already mentioned; also Niigata on the western coast and Hyogo; further, Yokohama was substituted for Shimoda. A consular jurisdiction was also provided in all cases where foreigners should be either complainants or defendants, and this must have been grievous to the national pride of Japan. The Powers had their diplomatic representatives and their legations at Yedo. This second set of Treaties fanned the flames of discontent which had been rising since the promulgation of the first set.

In the midst of this seething trouble the Shogun died in 1857, and his successor was Iemochi, then a boy. The regent then appointed was Ii Naosuke, better known as Ii Kamon-no-Kami, a resolute and unflinching man. He held that the Treaties having been made and foreign representatives having been admitted, the chance of resistance was gone and that

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any attempt in that direction would only involve Japan in ruin. So he strove to repress peacefully the rising discontent. In the midst of these efforts he was assassinated early in 1861, and this murder was the signal for many outrages, generally committed by Samurais who had quitted the allegiance of their respective Daimyos, and were called "ronins," a name which had long been known but which became ominous in these days. The sudden loss of the energetic Regent left the Shogunate without a Minister competent to deal with the emergencies which were now to arise.

The discontented among the upper classes spread abroad the opinion that the Treaties, being made with the Shogun only, were not valid because the Emperor's consent had never been obtained. This objection was not entertained for a moment by the foreigners. Still it had weight with the people, and stiffened their attitude of resistance against what they disliked otherwise.

The "ronins," or unattached Samurais, who were soldiers of fortune and almost ruffians, directed their attacks on foreign representatives, first the American, and then more especially the British. The Shogun's Ministers, in reply to remonstrances, declared themselves unable to prevent these outrages. The British legation had to be protected first by bluejackets from Hong Kong. Then an Englishman was killed near Yedo by a Samurai in the train of the Daimyo who was proceeding thence towards Satsu-

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ma. The victim had been very imprudent in his movements, still the killing of him was unjustifiable and was such as could not be passed over by the British representative. As no satisfaction could be obtained, a British squadron proceeded to Satsuma and destroyed the town of Kagoshima in 1863. About the same time the Daimyo of Choshu, a mountainous district on the north side of the narrow strait of Shimonoseki, undertook the foolhardy enterprise of stopping with his feeble ordnance this strait, the gate of the Inland Sea and the approach to Yedo, against all foreign vessels whatever whether of war or of commerce. Accordingly his warships and batteries fired at different times on an American, a Dutch, and a French vessel. These flagrant acts in a time of nominal peace provoked immediate reprisals. But as the disturbances in the country increased and as the Yedo Government was becoming paralysed, the Western Representatives in concert resolved to prevent the strait of Shimonoseki from being closed again, and to read to the Japanese a lesson which must have a permanent effect. So in1864 a naval expedition, headed by a large British squadron, and partly consisting of other foreign ships, proceeded to the strait and destroyed whatever offensive or defensive preparations could be found there. A heavy fine was at the same time exacted from the Yedo Government.

Even this hard experience failed to convince the soldiery, that is the Samurais attached, and the

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"ronins" unattached. They and their leaders disregarded more and more the effete Government at Yedo, and resorted more and more to Kyoto, in the desperate hope that the semi-divine Emperor might yet save the country by expelling the foreigners. While the naval expedition to Shimonoseki was being prepared by the Representatives of the Powers, the Emperor at Kyoto went through the farce of issuing an edict for their expulsion, entrusting it to the Shogun for execution. The hapless Shogun had come in State from Yedo to Kyoto to explain matters and among other things declared that he had no means whatever of resisting the foreigners. The Emperor's Court was at that time beset by a violent and senseless soldiery who fancied that they might save their country by threatening all round. Bloody street fights in the Imperial Capital were going on just when the coasts were being bombarded by foreign warships. The Shogun was now at his castle near Osaka on the Inland Sea; the foreign Representatives were at the neighbouring harbour of Hyogo with an imposing array of allied squadrons. Thence they waited on the Shogun and urged him to obtain the consent of the Emperor to the Treaties. He sent a memorial to the Emperor to the effect that embarrassment had been felt for some time owing to the supposed opposition of His Majesty to these Treaties, and asked for the Imperial consent, which was accordingly given. Soon afterwards this Shogun, Iemochi, died without heir, after a brief

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and almost nominal tenure of his high office. Then a few months later the Emperor Komei died and was succeeded by his son Mutsuhito, who is still reigning. The angry people regarded Komei's death as a sign that the divine nature had left him in consequence of his consenting to the Treaties; and it is noticeable that such an idea existed in this year, that is so late as 1867. Still the popular vengeance was directed against the Shogunate which had in the first instance agreed to the Treaties. That first step was the decisive step which ought never, as the people thought, to have been taken. Its subsequent ratification by the Emperor perhaps was inevitable, but they resolved that the Shogun, as the original offender, should be dismissed forever. Thus the party of violence, now surrounding the new Emperor at Kyoto, ceased to agitate against the Treaties, but occupied themselves in arranging the transfer of the Executive power from the Shogunate at Yedo to the Emperor at Kyoto.

Meanwhile the Emperor himself appointed Hitotsubashi to be Shogun, a man who was willing to act up to the Treaties and who had been guardian to the late Shogun. He accepted the office with reluctance, being doubtful whether due support would be accorded to him. Both he and many Daimyos felt that the end of the Shogunate and of Feudalism was at hand. Soon, that is in October, 1867, he received a memorial from one of the Daimyos, which set forth frankly that "the cause (of our trouble) lies in the

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fact that the administration proceeds from two centres causing the Empire's eyes and ears to be turned in two opposite directions." Thereon he informed all the Daimyos by a circular letter of his intention to resign, and in the following month, November, he sent in his resignation to the Emperor, by whom it was accepted. There were powerful Daimyos about the Imperial Court who had long been jealous of the Shogunate and hoped to succeed it in the formation of a new Government. They did not foresee that the Shogunate, which they had laboured to destroy, would in its destruction drag them down with it. From this month, November, 1867, must the date be taken for the end of the Shogunate which had lasted for over six hundred and fifty years.

Meanwhile the Daimyos at Kyoto were around the Emperor in force there, and the Ex-Shogun, as he must now be called, was in his castle at Osaka also with troops around him. Though he had of his own will resigned, yet when he had to actually surrender his power, his heart failed him. Then he was summoned to attend the Emperor, and this led to a conflict between his troops and the Imperial troops. The rebels were defeated and the Ex-Shogun retired to Yedo. Thither he was followed by Imperial troops, and terms were dictated to him under which he was to leave his castle at Yedo, surrender all armaments and warships in his possession and retire into the interior of the country. He acted, so far as he was able, according to these terms, and

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so the executive power passed fully into the hands of the Emperor. But many of his followers kept up an unavailing contest on land, and more blood had to be shed before they were subdued. When the warships in Yedo bay came to be given up their commander objected. He left the bay, and proceeded northwards followed by the Imperial ships. The rebel ships reached Hakodate in Yezo island. After a contest which lasted till July, 1869, they finally surrendered. Thus in a strange manner the Shogunate died hard—and thus this famous Office with its several long lines of hereditary Officers vanished from history.

But though the Feudal head was thus gone, Feudalism still remained to last for a brief while only, as will presently be seen.

This great change may have been sometimes termed a revolution, but quite wrongly, for it was not that at all, in the proper sense. By it indeed the original constitution of Japan was preserved. The Emperors had delegated their executive power to the Shoguns. The Emperor now resumed it; the change however important went no further than that. The successive lines of Shoguns have sometimes been styled dynasties, though erroneously, for they were never sovereigns but only the hereditary executive of the Sovereign; and the Emperor always possessed the right of displacing them though he had not for some centuries exercised it.

For the fall of the celebrated Shogunate there were

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three causes, two minor and one major. The minor causes were the growing weakness of the Shoguns, and the rising jealousy of several Daimyos, especially those of the West and South-West. The major and the decisive cause was the anger of the nation at the Treaties, at the presence of foreign Representatives on Japanese soil, at the foreign trade, at the presence of foreign warships in Japanese waters.

The views of the men and of the classes who brought about this change were diverse. Some Daimyos, bitter against the Shogunate for its conduct of foreign relations, thus hoped to remove the Shogun, surround the Emperor with their feudal troops, and to form a new Government. Then in the simplicity of their minds they thought of thus stopping the tide of foreign invasion commercial and political. In this they were disappointed, finding that the Emperor, on resuming the executive function, entered into relations with the foreigners. Though they had their revenge on the Shogun, still many of them had a rankling grief in their hearts. Notable among these was Saigo of Satsuma, the best soldier and the most popular man of modern Japan, whose end will be mentioned hereafter. At first all men were unanimously for exclusiveness, and against the influx of foreigners, the Western influence, the new civilisation. But at this time, that is from 1860 to 1868, they separated into two parties, the one clinging to the old beliefs, the other adopting the new ideas. The former though powerful became less

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and less, though their extinction was long delayed. The latter fast increased, owing to the hard experience of these years, and they greatly helped in bringing about this change. They were drawn from several classes in the community, and their conduct in adapting themselves with amazing readiness and intelligence to the new order of things in practical affairs, while retaining many among their old beliefs and ancient modes of thought, is a phenomenon unique in modern Asia and a remarkable episode in Asiatic history.

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CHAPTER XX.

THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR MUTSUHITO, 1868-1899.

It was in February, 1868, that the Emperor began to govern as well as to reign. His name was Mutsuhito and he was the one hundred and twenty-first Emperor of Japan, and of his line in one continuous dynasty, representing an extraordinary length of descent and succession.* He was still at Kyoto surrounded by associations which in the eyes of his people were divine. One of his first acts was to request the several Foreign Representatives, who had moved temporarily from Yedo to Hyogo on the Inland Sea, to inform their respective Governments, that hereafter the administration of both internal and external affairs would be conducted by him. In token of this he invited them all to visit him in his Imperial palace at Kyoto on March 23, 1868, which they accordingly did, thereby creating

* The Imperial line begins B. C. 660 with fabulously long reigns, and is regarded as mythical till about 500 A.D., up to which time there had been twenty-five Emperors. Even with this deduction Mutsuhito would be the ninety-sixth Emperor. Since the last named date many of the reigns have been short. The line has not always been maintained by direct descent but has not unfrequently been recruited by adoption from certain families when the Emperor has failed to leave an heir of his own blood.

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a precedent of almost incredible novelty to the Japanese. As a sign of the new era, Dr. Murray writes of it thus: "The significance of this event can scarcely now be conceived. Never before in the history of the Empire had its divine head deigned to admit to his presence the despised foreigner, or to put himself on an equality with the sovereign of the foreigner. The event created in the ancient capital the utmost excitement." All went well with the august host and his foreign guests on the day of the reception, with one wondrous exception. As the British envoy, Sir Harry Parkes, was proceeding duly escorted to the Palace, two fanatical Samurais rushed on his procession and wounded nine of the escort before they could be stopped, one of the two being killed and the other severely wounded. The next day Sir Harry persevered in his visit and was duly received without further incident. He was doubtless selected for attack because of the superior importance of his legation. The Emperor then issued an edict to the effect that as the foreign treaties had now been sanctioned by him, the protection of foreigners was henceforth his particular care.

A provisional constitution was then framed, setting forth the various departments of the Government and the duties of the officers in each. The Japanese statesmen of the new school recommended that the Emperor should move his Court and his Government from Kyoto, which, however venerable and sacred, had yet associations that in

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their eyes were both effeminate and politically degrading. The place was also geographically disadvantageous. So the Emperor proceeded to Yedo, and took up his abode in the old castle of the Shoguns there, in order to emphasise the fact that the executive and the Imperial authority were now in the same hands. In 1869 the name of Yedo was changed to that of Tokyo, meaning the eastern capital, by which name the Capital of Japan has since been known.

Strangely enough, the first thing done by the Emperor's Government was a reiteration of the long standing prohibition, almost proscription, against the Japanese Christians. Despite all the persecutions mentioned in a previous Chapter, descendants of that devoted Sect still were found near Nagasaki. Now, in 1868 not only was an edict of the Emperor from Tokyo issued against them, in severe, well-nigh opprobrious, terms, but also in June of that year those who would not recant, and apparently none of them did so, were deported and scattered among various districts. The Representatives of the European Powers remonstrated, the Japanese took the remonstrances ill, as savouring of interference in domestic concerns of Japan; but they so far yielded to pressure as to remove these restrictions by 1872.

As a constitutional beginning in 1869 the Emperor, in the presence of his Court and of the assembled Daimyos, took what has been called the Charter Oath. Indeed it was a wondrous sign of the time that this Sovereign, of heaven-born lineage and

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hedged in with divinity, should take such an oath at all. The Oath itself was in five articles, of which two were specific providing for the convening of a deliberative assembly, and for the abolition of all the usages of former time which might at this time be regarded as absurd. The other articles were in terms so general as to be almost academic. But they indicated that there was to be a political treatment even and equitable for all classes, a regard for modern conditions both social and economic, and a due attention to public opinion. In the same year the deliberative assembly was convened, consisting of members for the various daimiates nominated by the Daimyos, much as in former times some Members of the English House of Commons were nominated by great noblemen. It proved however to be little more than a debating society, and so far as it acted at all its action was for the retention of the most absurd usages of former times. It was nothing more than the first hesitating step in the direction which was afterwards taken with breadth and vigour of conception.

The next step was really of a root and branch character; being nothing less than the abolition of the feudal system which had lasted near nine hundred years. The Daimyos must have felt that their position had crumbled away from beneath their feet. So the leading men among them, the Daimyo of Satsuma at their head, formally surrendered their fiefs, their possessions and their retainers to the Em-

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peror. This example was speedily followed by the lesser Daimyos. All this was done on the general understanding that there would be compensation given to all concerned. This condition was fulfilled by the Emperor's Government at some sacrifice and even some embarrassment to the Treasury. The old daimiate divisions territorially were abolished and new districts called "ken" were substituted. The peaceful completion of this momentous measure proved the feebleness into which most of the Daimyos had sunk, and the strength of the patriotic tide which was setting in. This grave, though bloodless, change bears date from the eventful year 1869.

Shortly afterwards the disqualifications, social and other, which had from ages affected certain among the humblest classes of the people, were removed, and all men were made equal before the law.

Very soon the Emperor's Government had to test its capabilities in foreign affairs. Some humble vassals of Japan had been shipwrecked on the island of Formosa over which China claimed a supremacy. Nevertheless a Japanese commander named Saigo was sent to vindicate humanity, which he did. China accepted his service and gave compensation for the expense incurred. The relations which Japan thus established in Formosa bore fruit as will be seen hereafter. The Koreans attacked a Japanese steamer that was seeking hospitality. Thereon Japan sent a naval expedition to Korea whereby a commercial treaty was concluded. This was in

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1876, and it is to be borne in mind that the claims of suzerainty advanced by China over Korea and the dual relationship thus set up there between China and Japan were the things which afterwards led to war. The long standing dispute between Russia and Japan in the frigid northern regions was settled by the Saghalien island being taken by Russia and the Kurile group of islands by Japan.

Then inside Japan there arose a series of movements which wore a perilously threatening character. Although the Daimyos generally and their Samurais had sincerely accepted the revolution which swept away the old Feudalism, yet in the south-western daimiates there were still reactionary parties who had never really bowed the knee to the new Government, who were inured to arms and minded to strike some blows for the old régime. Thus troubles arose in the districts round the Shimonoseki strait which were put down by force. Then in the daimiate of Satsuma, the most formidable of all the daimiates, though the Daimyo and a party of his Samurais had patriotically led the peaceful revolution, there was yet another party of the Samurai who had never forgiven this proceeding. They still hoped by their superior prowess over the rest of their countrymen to effect a counter-revolution and restore something of the old Feudalism. Among them the most popular man was Saigo, the very commander who had just been employed by the Government in the reduction of Formosa, and he was a typical Satsuma man,

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Moreover he was now engaged, among other things, in organising military schools all over the Satsuma province. These schools were flourishing apace and were numbering many thousand scholars. Among them treason was rife against the new Government and the disaffected Samurais easily enlisted these bellicose youths in formidable numbers. Then Saigo himself was induced to head this movement which afterwards became known to history as the Satsuma rebellion. In February, 1877, he marched from Satsuma at the head of 14,000 good troops straight for Tokyo, in the expectation of raising his strength to 30,000 men before reaching the capital, an expectation quite possible of realisation inasmuch as there were still the slumbering fires, the smouldering embers of Samurai discontent all over the country including the new Imperial capital itself. Had he marched straight on Tokyo before the defensive forces were organised he might have dictated terms to the Emperor there and reversed the new Constitution of Japan. But unfortunately for him there stood an Imperial castle as a lion in his path. He might have left it behind him as its garrison was slender; however he resolved to take it if he could. But it was resolutely defended, and he spent several weeks in a vain siege. In that precious interval the Imperial Government at Tokyo organised a large force and sent it against Saigo. It encountered him with success while he was still besieging the castle. He retreated

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hotly pursued, and fighting several desperate actions. At length he retired to a hill overlooking Kagoshima Bay (in Satsuma) with a few followers faithful unto death, one of whom he induced to perform for him the friendly office of decapitation. Thus ended the last attempt made to disturb the new Constitution. It was, however, shortly followed at Tokyo by the assassination of Okubo, then the Minister of the Interior, a Satsuma clansman, but still a patriotic promoter of the new order of things. He had been the man who first recommended publicly the removal of the Emperor and his Court from Kyoto to Tokyo.

The new Government being now established beyond power of dispute, the progressive party bethought itself of developing the Constitution. The first deliberative assembly, consisting of nominees, had proved nothing but a makeshift. As a preliminary step there was the organisation of local councils for each borough (*fu*) and each district (*ken*) for accustoming the people to choose representatives and to be responsible for their own self-government.

Then in 1889 the Emperor promulgated a full Constitution for his people, and in the presence of his Court and his Ministers he took the oath to govern according to its powers and its limitations. It consisted of seven chapters embodying the headings which have usually been adopted in those Western States where the Constitution has not, as in Britain, grown up through the centuries. Its foremost provision was the formation of what has been trans-

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lated from the Japanese as "an Imperial Diet." Besides this cardinal article there were provisions for the rights and duties of subjects, and the due administration of justice. Even yet the fanatical spirit was not extinct, and on the very day of the promulgation, Mori Arinori, one of the foremost statesmen of the new school and formerly Minister plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James, was assassinated. This was the third political murder committed in the eastern capital during this generation by feudal fanatics. In each instance a prominent patriot was struck down in his mid career. The Diet was assembled in 1890 and the Constitution took full effect from the date of its assembling. Thus Japan was safely launched on a course of constitutional monarchy, as it would be called in Britain. By an Imperial House Law the Imperial successor must be a male.

Accordingly the Emperor had all the power possessed by a Constitutional Sovereign in the British sense of the term, in regard to legislation, taxation, finance, and with the same limitations. He had the right to choose his own Ministers, and he had a Privy Council with whom he could, at his own option, deliberate on matters of importance. He had a fixed civil list or income, settled liberally at three millions of yen or half a million sterling annually. He had the sole authority of declaring war, making peace and concluding treaties. He was to convoke, to open, to prorogue, to close, to dissolve the Sessions of the

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Diet. His sanction was required to the laws passed by Parliament. He must convoke the Diet once in every year. He was to have the supreme command of the Army.

The Diet was to consist of two Houses, the House of Peers and the House of Representatives. The relations between them were to be much the same as those which prevail between the Lords and the Commons in England.

The House of Peers was of a somewhat composite character and consisted firstly of three permanent elements, namely Princes of the Imperial Blood, holders of titles which in England have been translated as prince and marquis, persons who may be nominated for national services; then secondly of a certain proportion of titled classes, possessing titles translated as Counts, Viscounts and Barons, who might be elected by their respective orders; and thirdly, a certain number who might be chosen as the wealthiest in the boroughs *(Fu)* and the districts *(Ken)*. Regulations were made for keeping the total numbers of Members of the House of Peers at about 300. The first three of the above-mentioned classes were to hold their seats for life; the two last-mentioned were to sit for seven years.

The House of Representatives was to consist of about 300 Members to be elected for each electoral district. Thus the number of these districts did not differ much from that of the old Daimiates. But as the population amounts to 43 millions the aver-

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age number of persons to each Member is found to be about 143,000. In other words the Japanese constituencies would be considered large according to the British standard of comparison. There was some provision for qualifications to entitle a man to exercise a parliamentary franchise, such as one year's residence and the payment of a certain sum in taxation annually. Each member was allowed a small salary besides travelling expenses and he was not permitted to refuse that allowance. For the office of President or Speaker, three candidates were chosen by the House, and from these one is nominated by the Emperor. On the whole the Constitution was formed not exactly after the model afforded by any particular country in Europe, but after the general example of Europe, with special modifications or adaptations suitable to Japan.

The Imperial Diet was to have control over the Finances, that is the taxation and the main branches of expenditure. In practice it would necessarily be that the House of Representatives would have the initiative and consequently the virtual control, though the concurrence of the House of Peers would have to be obtained.

Absolute freedom of religious belief and practice was secured so long as it should not be prejudicial to peace and order. There was to be no State religion, and no State support to any religion, but still the principal temples of the two Native religions, Shintoism and Booddhism, did obtain some maintenance

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from the local authorities. This religious freedom was as a consequence secured to Christianity.

One Chapter of the Constitution related to what was termed Judicature. Accordingly a complete establishment of independent judges irremovable except for proved misconduct was formed for the whole country and for both departments, civil and criminal. Thus in the towns and in the districts, and in all degrees, village courts, town tribunals, courts of first instance and of appeal with a central appellate court at the capital were appointed, superseding all other courts regular or irregular which may have existed in the feudal times. A few of the judges of the highest rank were appointed by the Emperor direct, the remainder were accepted by him on the nomination of the Minister of Justice.

Such are the main points embraced in the seven Chapters of the Constitution, which was promulgated in 1890, was accepted by all classes of the Japanese, and at the end of the first decade which coincides with the end of the century, is understood to be in working order. It may be remembered that as the abolition of Feudalism dated from 1869, the preparation for, and the incubation of, the new and complete Constitution had to take only twenty-one years. This space of time is relatively short for so elaborate and far-reaching an operation as this. Indeed the achievement indicates an amazing adaptability in the Japanese people, under conditions novel to them and indeed opposed in several respects to the ideas

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and traditions cherished by them through many centuries.

Outside the Constitution, but really flowing from it, there were some administrative branches of much importance to the national safety and progress.

A department of State Education and Public Instruction was organised for the whole country from the University in the Capital, to High Schools, technical classes and elementary schools, entirely after the Western model; with the assistance of European and American advisers. These institutions were for the most part to be supported by the State but also by local rates. The attendance in Elementary schools was rendered compulsory by law.

The relief of the extremely poor, the helpless and the friendless was largely centralised. The Government reserved a large capital sum for this purpose, and granted relief out of the interest derivable from this fund.

In Japan as in other Oriental countries the principal item in the State receipts is the Land revenue, which is obtained from the land owners who may be described almost entirely as peasant proprietors. The next largest item is that arising from intoxicating liquors and the like. There is a tax on and a monopoly of tobacco. The customs revenue is not considerable. The regulation dues are noteworthy and the revenue from Forests indicates that the Government is prudently alive to the importance of Forest Con-

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servancy. The budgets are framed by the Ministry of Finance and submitted to the Diet much after the manner which prevails with the Western nations.

In the place of all the old feudal forces, a new army was raised on a uniform plan and with a centralised organisation and on the basis of conscription. All males of the age of twenty were liable by law to serve in the army for seven years, of which three must be spent on active service and four in the reserve. After quitting the reserve the soldier must form part of a force of which the name is translated as "landwehr," for another five years, and then up to forty years of age he must belong to a national reserve called by name translated as "landsturm," with an obligation to serve in event of emergency. The infantry consisted of the Imperial Guard and the line. For the Cavalry and Artillery there were about 29,000 horses employed, a very large number to be bred or collected in such a country as Japan. Institutions of every sort for military education were instituted, that is to say, a staff college, military college, cadet college, military school, gunnery school. The firearms, ordnance and ammunition were manufactured in the arsenals of Tokyo and Osaka. The rifles used were the Murata, invented in Japan.

For the fleet, battle-ships and armoured or protected cruisers of several classes, with a torpedo flotilla, were obtained mostly from Britain. The Officers and men were trained in the navies of Europe; their total strength amounted to nearly 14,000. It has

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been truly said that this development of the Japanese Navy is one of the most notable elements in the politics of the Far East. Special care was taken to have vessels of the highest speed obtainable at the time and to practise the art of manœuvring in battle. The coasts of Japan were divided into five maritime districts, having arsenals and dockyards at their several headquarters. Thus everything was done on the best and newest European models for the reorganisation of the Imperial forces by sea and land. These measures had been adopted and promoted before the promulgation of the Constitution in 1890, and were prosecuted with even greater energy after that event.*

Within five years after 1890 the worth and efficiency of these measures were destined to be brought to a test. In 1894 war broke out between Japan and China on the question of Korea.

The course of this war will be described in Part III. of this work, relating to China. But some account is here required on the Japanese side of these events. It has been seen from various passages in this work that Korea had been first ruined by a Japanese invasion, and had since been in a state of chronic anarchy, that she had in her distress often appealed both to China and Japan, that she had owned a dual relationship and suzerainty in reference to them both. This had naturally led to disputes between China and Japan which had for a

* See the *Statesman's Yearbook* for several years up to 1890.

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time been settled soon after 1877 by an agreement that neither Power should send forces into Korea without first informing the other, and that when the Korean affair, whatever it might be at the time, had been settled, both Powers should withdraw. This was no doubt a specific agreement and clearly was binding. Nevertheless on an appeal from Korea in 1893, China sent a force there, without informing Japan. Thereon Japan sent a corresponding force, but the two forces though face to face did not come to blows. China appears to have used haughty language regarding Korea which Japan endured, but added that any further despatch of Chinese troops into Korea contrary to the agreement would be regarded by her as an act of war. Evidently China meant to reassert her exclusive control over Korea irrespective of the agreement. Immediately afterwards a Japanese squadron in the Pechihlee Gulf came upon a Chinese force in a troopship escorted by war vessels on the way to Korea. An action followed, the Chinese warships were defeated by the Japanese and the troopship was sunk. Hostilities were now inevitable, so the Japanese soon cleared Korea of the Chinese after a little, but only a little, real fighting. A severe naval action was fought between a fine Japanese squadron, and the best ships (also of European build) in the Chinese Navy under Admiral Ting off the coast of the Korea near the mouth of the Yalu river, ending in the defeat of the Chinese. It appears that the Japanese owed their

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victory to the superior speed of their vessels which enabled them to out-manœuvre their enemy, also to their vastly superior organisation. Thereon the Japanese army overran the Liaotung Peninsula, north of the Pechihlee Gulf, without opposition, and took Port Arthur, a Chinese naval and military position of the first rank, without trouble. So far the Japanese had shown excellent power of moving troops over long distances in the depth of winter with disciplined endurance, but had seen very little of real fighting. Then they attcked by sea and land Weihai-Wei on the opposite side of the Gulf in the main continent of China. This was the most important position in the Chinese Empire, but after a brief defence it was taken, and the squadron in the harbour, locked in there by the Japanese warships, had to surrender. Then China, sorely stricken in two vital points and awakened to the fact that her army could not fight and that her navy was gone, had to sue for peace and to send a plenipotentiary, Li Hung Chang, to Japan to conclude it. This was concluded at Shimonoseki.

By it China renounced all her claims on Korea, and in the Formosa islands, ceded the Liaotung Peninsula with Port Arthur to Japan, and agreed to pay a full war indemnity to Japan. The Emperor of China ratified this treaty, but then Russia interposed, partly no doubt at China's instance, but partly perhaps of her own accord. Her object was to prevent the Liaotung Peninsula passing permanent-

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ly into the hands of Japan. She was supported by France in virtue of the general alliance between them. She appeared also to be receiving support from Germany, to the surprise of Britain at least. But Britain herself did not join in asking Japan to forego any of the advantages won by her arms. Nevertheless Japan, yielding to the combined pressure of the other Powers, consented to give back Liaotung and Port Arthur to China, and to content herself with being rid of Chinese interference in Korea, with the acquisition of Formosa and other islands, and with the payment of the indemnity. She retained among other things the ports and harbour of Wei-hai-Wei till the indemnity should be paid in full. For this payment China raised a loan under a joint arrangement by Britain and Germany. When the Japanese claim had thus been satisfied, Wei-hai-Wei was made over by Japan to Britain with the consent of China in the spring of 1898. Thus ended a war which must be considered as glorious to the young army and navy of Japan.

The Emperor's thanks to his forces by sea and land were appreciated by the whole nation. "In December of that year, 1898, by a unanimous vote the Diet expressed its gratitude for the Emperor's direction of the naval and military operations against China by including in the Imperial Estates a sum of twenty millions of yen from the indemnity obtained in consequence of the country's victories." *

* *Statesman's Yearbook*, 1899.

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CHAPTER XXI.

THE STATE OF JAPAN IN 1899.

In order to portray the change which has within one generation come over the land and the people, that is between 1868 and 1899, and to exemplify the process which has been outlined in the preceding Chapter, contemporary writers have coined a phrase, namely the rapid "Europeanisation" of Japan.

In reference to this, some passages may be cited from an able review by the late Bishop Bickersteth of Tokyo addressed in 1895 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; as he was a most competent witness writing, too, on the spot.

"The success of Japan has been due to her own good qualities, to the honesty which during twenty years of preparation duly expended the national revenue on the public service, to the quick-witted intelligence which not only adapted but learned during the same period how to use the inventions and discoveries of the West, and to the patriotism which burns in all Japanese hearts alike, only more intensely since the Revolution of 1868, and which united all who speak the Japanese language under one sovereign and one political administration. In these regards Japan is alone among Eastern nations. It

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is not too much to say that an honest administration of public funds on a large scale has, till now, been unknown in any Eastern country. . . . Devotion to their Emperor and country is an instinctive feeling in the hearts of Japanese men and women alike. . . . As a matter of fact the Japanese islands proper lie a long way to the north of the tropic of Cancer, and its people have none of the characteristics of the inhabitants of tropical lands. They are, to take one instance, lacking in the meditative religiousness and philosophical acumen which mark the peoples of India. On the other hand they possess the activity of body and mind which is the endowment of the people of temperate climes. . . . Still less are they to be considered an uncivilised Eastern race with a mere veneer of Western manners and culture. . . . They have a civilisation of their own. . . . It is, in its own way, as real as our own. It has its own standards and canons of thought and taste and feeling, its own manners and customs, its own ideals and hopes. Greatly as it may be indebted now and in the future to Western literature and education, and eagerly as it adopts the inventions of Western science, these will not radically change it. . . . The result will not be a Western nation in the Orient, but an Eastern nation or rather Japan; for this country is alone among the nations of the East, with certain new means and methods at her disposal, but in pith and fibre the same people with the same

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national characteristics and like mental endowments and modes of thought and life as to-day or yesterday."

After this emphatic and valuable testimony regarding the national characteristics of Japan as they are under the new order of things, some attempt may be made to explain the religious condition of the people as it now is. It has been already mentioned in the second Chapter of this Part, that there have always been two observances in Japan, one Shinto-ism, which may or may not be, strictly speaking, a religion, the other Booddh-ism, which, even in its most debased forms, is a religion if it is anything. In the Report for 1898 by the Church Missionary Society, whose business it is to watch the native religions, there occurs the following passage:

"The position of both Booddh-ism and Shinto-ism has been seriously affected by the revolution of 1868 and the changes consequent upon it. The cause of Booddh-ism had been for centuries identified with that of the Shoguns (feudal), and the revolution was a severe blow to its power and prestige, as it was then deprived of State patronage and support. On the other hand Shinto-ism, so closely connected with the semi-divine person of the Mikado (Emperor) and the basis of his authority, gained a triumph. Under the new régime both religions remained under the control of the Government. In 1877 the Department of Religion was abolished as a separate office, and made a branch of the Home Office. At

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the same time the Shinto priests, in lieu of such of their revenues as were derived from the State, were awarded pensions to cease after twenty years. A few of them commuted and went into trade, but the bulk continued to exercise the priestly office. The changes prepared the way for the more decided step taken in 1884 when the connection of both Boodhism and Shinto-ism with a department of State was severed, and each sect was enjoined to make provision for the internal government and administration. But although disestablished and deprived of State support, both religions continue to exist, and under the new order of things Booddh-ism especially has manifested fresh energy."

The following anecdote in the Church Missionary Society's report for 1898 is probably characteristic of the former mental state of some Japanese respecting religion. The witness writes: "I was talking one day to an Officer's wife, a lady of good family, and was telling her that before the One true God we are all sinners. She listened politely, and then covering her face with her hands she burst into a peal of quiet laughter. 'I do beg your pardon,' she said, 'but *I* a sinner! the idea is too ridiculous.' It is firmly believed in many cases, among men and women too, that other nations may need a Saviour, but not Japan —for Japan is a country of the gods, the Japanese the children of the gods, and therefore they cannot sin." This would indicate a self-sufficiency rarely equalled in any nation. But it probably is only a

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remnant of the childlike superstition of an age which is almost past and has given way to the new age that has risen with a living sunshine on Japan.

There may be some difficulty in giving any consistent account of Shinto-ism because many educated Japanese will say that it is not a religion at all, but merely a code of ceremonial observances. Further it has been stated by one of the best European observers that "the united verdict given by native scholars was that Shinto is not a religion; it is a system of government regulations, very good to keep alive the patriotism among the people." Again it is said that "Shinto has no moral code, . . . it lays down no precepts, teaches no morals or doctrines, prescribes no ritual."

As a further illustration of the Japanese self-sufficiency (which perhaps is passing away) it may be added that the newest Shinto teacher explained that "morals were invented by other nations because they were immoral, but in Japan there was no necessity for any system of morals, as every Japanese acted aright if he only consulted his own heart." In justice to the Japanese, however, the Church Missionary Society in 1898 testify that "however imperfect the conception of sin may be, the recognition of national and individual guilt, with a view to deliverance from divine judgment, is a marked feature of Shinto-ism. Twice every year, in the sixth and twelfth months, festivals are held which are supposed to purify the nation from the sins of the previous half year."

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Notwithstanding its want of definiteness, Shinto-ism seems to be intertwined with all the brightest thoughts of the Japanese, the national origin, the mythical rulers, the quasi-divine Emperor, and with everything that would make Japan feel proud of herself.

The same authority states that "although Shinto is the religion of the Government, the religion of the people is Booddh-ism." This Booddhistic religion is declared to have "an elaborate array of ceremonial and priestcraft, monks and nuns, shrines and relics, images and altars, vestments and candles, fastings and indulgences, pilgrimages and hermits." Further it appears that the Japanese Booddhists are divided into some fourteen sects. The method of prayer may be illustrated thus from the same evidence. "Listen as I do sometimes by the hour together to the monotonous tap-tap of the Booddhist drum which a Japanese explained to me was the accompaniment of prayer. 'If they are in trouble,' said he, 'they will stand and beat that drum all day, saying over and over again the same words.'"

As regards the prospects of Booddh-ism the following words of the Reverend G. H. Pole may be cited from a publication of 1898: "Christianity has never yet in any serious way met in hand to hand combat, at close quarters, that most powerful of all heathen religions Booddhism. And in all human probability the battle will have to be fought out in Japan. . . . For whether we regard it from its doctrinal,

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its philosophical, its ethical, its practical or its ceremonial aspects, no one acquainted with the facts can deny that Booddhism as developed and modified by its contact with and assimilation of principles and practices from Romanism, Confucianism, Taoism, and Shintoism is, notwithstanding its many errors, and grossly superstitious observances, an antagonist of intense moral and religious force."

Meanwhile according to the best authority "Booddhist priests, monks and nuns of all grades abound in Japan. . . . Booddhist temples are numerous in all parts of the country. In most large towns there is a street of temples which is called *Tera-machi,* answering to our 'Church Street.'"

Irrespective of authority on the spot, and of actual evidence, it is probably known to Europeans who are acquainted with educated Japanese that some certainly, and probably very many, of this class no longer believe in Booddhism at all; though they retain Shintoism, not as a religion, but as an ancestral and ceremonial system with which the Imperial dynasty is still bound up, though the old idolatrous veneration for the Emperor is hardly maintained. With such persons the faith and hope of a destiny for mankind, the idea of a future life, apparently are but one great blank. This melancholy condition has sprung up since the great political change of 1868. The same authority, as cited already, writes of them: "They have a national aptitude for analytical and scientific criticism. These

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tendencies lead to a general indifference towards supernatural religion and religious verities and to an acceptance of atheistic and materialistic systems of philosophy; and these in their turn develop into agnosticism or open scepticism as to the necessity or desirableness of any religion whatever."

It is sad to reflect that many of the best Japanese should, under the influence of the new civilisation, be drifting into this position. As already seen in the last Chapter of Part I. of this work, this very same process has been, and still is, going on in India, but up to a certain point only. There the men of Western education no longer believe in the modern Hinduism, or Brahmanism, as they more correctly call it. But they do not abandon religion altogether. They either fall back on the early Hindu faith which is called Vedic, or they form on that basis a new creed which is called Brahmoism, or that of the Brahmos—there being in their eyes a vital difference between Brahmo and Brahmin or Brahman. Now according to all appearances nothing of this sort is happening in Japan. The Japanese who abandon Booddhism as a religion, and adhere to Shintoism merely as a ceremonial system, take up no creed whatever, and seem at present to be without any religious belief. Whatever be the number of these at this moment, and it is likely to grow larger rather than otherwise day by day, they do not become Christian, though it is to be devoutly hoped that they may.

Meanwhile Christianity in Japan, since its com-

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plete allowance and toleration by the Government, had made what would be called good and rapid progress according to any standard of comparison which may be set up from experience in any other Eastern country. The total number of Japanese Christians may be taken at about 85,000. Of these a goodly portion, that is 44,000 or rather more than half, are Roman Catholics, as may be expected in reference to the famous associations which the Jesuits left behind them in the Middle Ages, and which to this day are not forgotten by the people, especially in some of the southern districts. Again, as might be expected, the Protestant Japanese belong to several sections. The following summary is taken from the Church Missionary Society's Report for 1898. According to that, in the beginning of 1896, the total number of Missionaries at that time was 656, including wives —belonging to the American Board Congregationalist, the various Presbyterian Boards, the Episcopal Methodists, the Baptists and the Churches of the Anglican Communion, English, Canadian and American—but of the 39,000 Native Christians, over 11,000 belonged to the Presbyterian Churches, about the same number to the Congregational bodies, nearly 8,000 to the Methodists, about 2,500 to the Baptists and 5,600 to the Episcopal Church. The Report goes on to say: "Thus American Missionaries, who were first to enter Japan in 1859 and who were doing useful pioneer work nearly ten years before the arrival of the first British Missionary, still take the

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lead." A still later return would bring the total to about 41,000.

For Public Instruction, it has already been seen that Education is a department of the Government, and is organised after Western models. The attendance at Elementary Schools is compulsory, and it may appear strange, though such is the fact, that this constitutes a distinct advance beyond anything that has as yet been deemed feasible in British India. Perhaps the Japanese Government has been right in giving effect gradually and leniently to this compulsion. The number of children of a school-going age is over 7½ millions. Of these only 4 millions, perhaps somewhat less, are actually at school. But even this number of scholars is creditable, indeed honourable, to Japan, considering the shortness of time during which the system has been at work. The schools are of all sorts and grades, as in the West, from the Kindergarten up to the University. There is also technical instruction of all sorts afforded, that is to say, in Science, in Medicine, in Engineering, in Agriculture. The higher Schools are mainly supported by the State, and so are the Elementary Schools in part, the remainder of the expenses being defrayed by local rates.

Together with this education much literary activity has sprung up, as might be expected, inasmuch as there is always a tendency among the Japanese in this direction. According to the *Statesman's Year-book* for 1899, there were in 1895 some 25 public

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libraries in Japan, with nearly half a million of volumes. In that year more than 26,000 books in Japanese, and 753 periodicals, monthly, weekly, and daily, were published. Of the periodicals more than 409 millions of copies were issued, representing a very large circulation. Whether with this literature any works of genius have been written, indicating the new phases of the national character under the new order of things, is a question which it would be premature to attempt to answer. Under such circumstances the weight of books, packets and letters carried by the Post-Office must be enormous. The number of all these together entrusted to the Postal Service has risen from 321 millions in 1893–4 to 506 millions in 1896–7. Taken at the very least, these statistics indicate a remarkable buoyancy of spirits and elasticity of mind in the young nation.

For the general Government the Constitution, of which an outline was given in the preceding Chapter, is apparently being carried out. As it had been deliberately planned, no early modifications were found necessary. Even if some details may have been added or altered, the system is in 1899 as it was on its promulgation in 1890. So far as can be gathered in England, it appears that the civil administration is conducted much in the same manner as that of British India. There are codes of law, civil and criminal, an independent judiciary, magistrates for the various districts, and superior officers for the groups of districts and organised

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police; with a civil governor for every province. There is a general freedom of the Press, subject however to censorship in the event of political or constitutional matters being touched upon. All persons, including all the servants of the Government, are equal before the law, nominally and on the principle at least; but for a nation so recently emerged from feudalism as the Japanese there must as yet be doubt whether such equality is fully observed in practice. The relations between the Emperor and the two bodies which form the Diet are being gradually formed after the European model in general, but not exactly according to the example of any one European nation in particular. The Emperor is a constitutional Sovereign; the executive Government, the supreme command of the Army and Navy, the declaring of war, the making of peace, are all vested in him. He has much property belonging to his Crown, but for money supplies to maintain the administration in war and peace he is really dependent on the Lower Chamber of the Diet, consisting of the elected representatives of the people. He appoints his Ministers in all Departments, not exactly as the Sovereign in the United Kingdom does, but more after the manner which is practised by the Emperor of Germany. He chooses his men personally, but it is understood that he must have regard to the sentiments of certain sets of men about his throne, who are something like an unacknowledged Privy Council. Manifestly he must take men who would be acceptable

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to the Diet, of which they may be members, though not necessarily so. With his Councillors and Ministers the present Emperor is understood to have weight from his long experience of the new system, which generally exceeds theirs. But he is much secluded and is surrounded by etiquette. He speaks no European language, and cannot learn anything for himself from the outside. So his real character and influence cannot be measured. The loyal view taken by the Diet of his conduct during the war with China has been already mentioned. There has been some revision of the aristocracy, based doubtless on the old order of things. The titles are translated into English as Marquis, Count, Viscount and Baron. The Upper House of Peers consists partly of members in some degree elected by the Orders of aristocracy to which they belong, and partly appointed by the Emperor; the total number is about three hundred. The Lower House of elected representatives consists also of three hundred Members, who all receive a certain allowance which they are not allowed to decline. The Presidents of both Houses are appointed by the Emperor from among the Members. The Diet must be assembled once a year. It is a part of the Emperor's prerogative to dissolve the House of Representatives. In the electoral districts the parliamentary franchise is not like universal suffrage, but is based on moderate and reasonable qualifications.

Hereupon there arise two classes of questions

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which are familiar enough to the Western mind, but which cannot be answered for a Parliamentary Government like the Japanese, which is not yet ten years old. The first relates to the elections; whether the candidates are popular ones or the nominees of grandees, whether the elections are free or manipulated by the civil authorities under the Government of the day, whether there are the disputes of the day to be argued by rival candidates on platforms, and whether the electors take sufficient interest in the elections to induce them to attend at the poll in large numbers. The second relates to the Lower or Commons House of the Diet. That it does vote supplies of money for each Session and can thus exercise influence, is clear enough. But there may be doubt whether it can or cannot be overawed by the Ministers of the Emperor, whether it has or has not a real initiative in legislation, whether it has or has not real control over the executive, and whether any private member or group of Members could be influenced by the Government. Englishmen who know their own parliamentary history will be cautious in answering such questions regarding an infant Constitution, respecting which there is only the scantiest information. It is to be apprehended, however, that while some have not even surrendered the old exclusiveness, yet whole classes of people who up to the living generation were in tight subjection and now find themselves in full citizenship, have enough spirit to refuse retrogression towards a

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régime which has been abolished. If that be at all the case the new Imperial rule must be rendered in some degree popular. But although there is in form and appearance much of democracy in the Constitution, yet there is evidently hanging about it an aristocratic and monarchical air. The only thing certain, and that will be good, is the patriotism which animates all the intelligent classes of the people from the Emperor downwards.

The internal communication is still in the main by roads, many of which are doubtless well maintained, though probably many of what have been called "the unbeaten tracks of Japan" still remain. From the nature of the country there can be no water communications of any consequence. The railways were begun only in the last quarter of the century, and were at first carried out slowly in the districts adjacent to Tokyo, Yokohama and Kyoto. During the most recent years a marked progress has been made, for the main ridge has been crossed which runs in the midst of the main island, and so there is a railway across the island from the east to the west shore. Again from Tokyo a line has been taken northwards to the upper extremity of the island. Thus there are now 631 miles of railway belonging to the State and 1,873 miles belonging to private companies, twenty-eight in number, of whom three only have any guarantee from the State. That so much private enterprise should have been shown in this matter is creditable to a young nation like the

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Japanese. It seems likely to be rewarded, for already the system is carrying 6½ millions of tons and 42 millions of passengers annually. And this has been attained despite the difficulties from repeated seismic disturbances, which may at any moment cause widespread disorganisation in the lines, the bridges and the stock.

The foreign ocean-borne trade has nearly trebled within the last few years as regards imports, and has nearly doubled as regards exports. But still the exports are equal to only two-thirds of the imports, and so there remains a considerable balance of trade against Japan. This circumstance is attracting the serious attention of the Japanese authorities, as will be presently seen. Hitherto this trade has been carried on at six "open ports," that is, open by Treaty to foreigners, and thirteen others. The restriction of foreigners to certain ports was, as has been shown in the foregoing Chapters, due partly to that barbaric jealousy in olden times of which the modern and enlightened time would naturally be ashamed. Accordingly this restriction after long consideration has just been removed. All ports are now free and foreigners are unrestricted as regards residence in the interior, subject doubtless to passport regulations. In justice to Japan, however, it must be said that in recent times the restriction was due to the claims made by Foreign Governments for jurisdiction over their own subjects residing in the country, and has been withdrawn now that Japan has been placed in a position of full jurisdiction.

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In 1898 the Associated Chambers of Commerce in England deputed Admiral Lord Charles Beresford to enquire into all matters in China affecting the Chambers. This Mission, though really a private one, was regarded as important by the people of the Far East, whether European or Asiatic. It was extended to Japan, regarding which a Chapter is included in the Report presented by Lord Charles in the spring of 1899, and published shortly afterwards. This Chapter contains some of the most recent evidence regarding the country, and several quotations from it may with advantage be made just in the order in which they come. At Nagasaki Lord Charles finds two mercantile steamers building, of a very superior kind. They will be built at a loss which will be borne "by two rich Japanese gentlemen in support of the patriotic idea of starting shipbuilding in Japan." He remarks that the "Japanese are making strenuous efforts to convey all their water-borne commerce in Japanese vessels. . . . A large amount of machinery in Japan is of British manufacture." At Osaka he visited the Military Arsenal. "It was chiefly employed making a new quick-firing gun. The principle was certainly second to none. They were also making a magazine-gun of Japanese patent, quite perfect in design and construction." He visited the largest of the seventeen cotton mills at Osaka, and found the machinery to be British. He adds: "In Japan there are seventy cotton mills altogether." He went over some very busy iron and steel works.

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They "belonged to an Englishman, but were registered as a Japanese company." He was invited to attend a meeting at which the Mayor, the Members of the Chambers of Commerce and all representative citizens were present. This illustrates the manner in which the new municipal institutions are working. He proceeded to Kyoto, and there finds "a system of electric batteries, one of the most remarkable examples of municipal progress, energy and enterprise to be seen in Japan, or perhaps in any country." On the Lake Biwa, near Kyoto, he finds "a further interesting example of municipal enterprise." He adds that there is no country which he has visited where electricity as a motive-power has been taken advantage of to the same extent as in Japan. . . . Telephones and telegraphs abound in every street, in nearly every town, and a very large and increasing number of manufactures are worked by electric power. At Tokyo he met the great officials, and was informed among other things that "the reorganisation of the Chinese Army was occupying the earnest attention of those in authority in Japan, and with the object of helping China forward in this direction the Japanese Government had consented to receive thirty Chinese students into the Military College at Tokyo. Besides, fifty-seven Chinese recruits arrived from China to be trained as non-commissioned officers;" and this indicates a *rapprochement* between the two nations after the recent war. At the Central Military School he writes that

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nothing could be more perfect than the system of teaching and training. At a parade near Tokyo he states that "Artillery, cavalry and infantry were each quite excellent in organisation, appearance and discipline." He was invited by the Chamber of Commerce at Tokyo to address a public meeting there which was most influentially attended. Among other things he was informed that "if Britain would only lead in a definite policy in China, then Japan would most certainly follow." From Yokohama to Yokoska he is conveyed in an Elswick-built cruiser and finds her to be in as good a condition as a man-of-war could be. He went over the naval barracks, "which were in the same complete state of efficiency that I found in all naval and military establishments in Japan."

For trade the Japanese evidently recommend the policy of the "open door" in China, meaning thereby that all ports which are opened at all shall be open to all nations alike. Lord Charles writes that the future well-being of Japan depends much more largely on the maintenance of "the open door" in China than is generally known in Britain. "The population of Japan is increasing rapidly. Only one-twelfth of the whole Empire can be cultivated. Food will have to be imported. . . . In order to pay for this import Japan must have an export. China is the nearest market, and Japan requires that her export shall not be hampered by adverse tariffs on arrival in China." He considers that "the naval and military forces of Japan will have to be reckoned

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with, when solving the problems connected with the future development of trade and commerce in the Far East."

These observations, made by Lord Charles Beresford while he was acting in a high capacity, serve to explain many points in the state of Japan in 1899.

The Army of Japan is set down statistically at the high number of 284,700 men of all sorts. But a large part consists of the territorial army, or "landsturm." The regular army with the colours, however, really consists of the Imperial Guard, 11,200, and the six divisions, 76,300 men. But there is a reserve of 83,000 men. It is noteworthy that there are 20,000 horses of Japanese breed from foreign sires. In the Navy there are twenty-one ships of good types, mostly built in Europe.

The annual Receipts and the Expenditures have been rising fast since 1893, and surpluses used to be generally maintained. For 1896–7 the Receipts were shown at 153 millions of yen and the Expenditure at 165 millions—for 1897–8, the Receipts appear at 238 millions of yen and the Expenditure at 249 millions. In the latter year there seem to be some abnormal credits and debits which swell the totals, in connection with the indemnity for the late war. In the Revenues proper the two main items are the land tax, levied mostly from the peasant proprietors, and the tax on malt and spirits. The expenses of the army appear to be 29 millions, of the navy 10 millions of yen. The public debt stands

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at 410 millions, and the debt annual charges at 6 millions of yen. The silver yen or dollar has a nominal value of 4*s.* and an actual value of 3*s.* 4*d.* The standard of value since October, 1897, is gold; the unit will be the gold yen.*

Regarding the aspect of Japan in 1899, one of the best authorities is the *Guidebook* by Chamberlain and Mason, published in 1894. After remarking that in every sphere of activity the old order has given way to the new, they write: "But even Japan, great as is the power of imitation and assimilation possessed by her people, has not been able completely to transform her whole material mental and social being within the limits of a single lifetime. Fortunately for the curious observer she continues in a state of transition —less Japanese and more European day by day, it is true, but still retaining characteristics of her own, especially in the dress, manners and beliefs of the lower classes. . . . As for what is called seeing Japanese life, the best plan is to avoid the foreign settlements in the Open Ports. You will see theatres, wrestling, dancing girls, and the new Japan of European uniforms, political lectures, clubs, colleges, hospitals and chapels in the big cities. The old peasant life still continues almost unchanged in the districts not opened up by the railways." Further, in reference to the temples the *Guidebook,* after adverting to the reform whereby the Shinto and Booddhist re-

* The figures in this paragraph are taken from the *Statesman's Yearbook* for 1899.

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ligions were separated, goes on to state that "the Booddhist priests were expelled from the Shinto temples. . . . All buildings such as pagodas, belfries and richly-decorated shrines, that did not properly belong to the Shinto establishment were removed, many precious structures being thus destroyed by 'purifying' zeal. In consequence of all this the modern visitor to Japan loses much that delighted the eyes of those who came twenty years ago. . . . On the other hand he has better opportunities for familiarising himself with the style of 'pure Shinto,' which, if severely simple, is at least unique in the world."

Whether Japan will preserve her unrivalled renown in certain branches of industrial art, as already set forth in the Second Chapter of this Part, is a question which can hardly as yet be answered. But some sidelight may be thrown upon it by the following extracts from the *Guidebook*:

"Though now sometimes sold in large stores, Japanese objects of art are not produced in large workshops. In old days, when the best pieces were made, few masters employed as many as half a dozen workmen in addition to the members of their own family, and *chefs-d'œuvre* often originated in humble dwellings, where perhaps a single artisan laboured in the most primitive style assisted by one or two children. At the present day, foreign influence is causing the spread of Western business methods, extensive manufactures, and splendidly decked-out windows, but

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as yet in only two or three of the larger towns. Even there, the best things must often be sought in narrow lanes."

In conclusion, it is clear that Japan is arming steadily and determinedly, and that some immediate trouble is expected by her. That trouble in great part relates to the actual extinction of the Chinese Empire, in all Imperial respects, and the probable dismemberment of China herself as a country and a dominion; to be followed by a virtual partition, in some sort, between the European Powers, with a consequent establishment of what are now known as "spheres of influence," in lieu of the existing policy of "the open door" with ports free to all and unrestricted trade; all which will be explained in the ensuing Part III. on China. Now if anything of this kind were to happen, Japan will tremble for her export markets, which are nearest and best for her in China, and which she seems to think essential to her prosperity. Nevertheless she fears that the Chinese army and police are incorrigibly bad, being unable to preserve order, that the existing disorder, if prolonged, will cause the European Powers to forcibly interfere for the protection of their trade and traders, and that this will be the beginning of the end for China. If "spheres of influence" were thereupon to be created, then Japan apprehends that most of them would ere long be shut against her, excepting the British sphere; in which case the only consolation for her must consist in the thought that the

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British sphere will be far the richest and largest. At the best, those who study the realities of China will perceive that the decline and fall of the Chinese Empire must have been only a question of time. But then Japan by the war of 1895–6 certainly precipitated the crisis, broke the back of China, brought in all the diverse European distractions, and produced the very state of things which is now deprecated as perilous to Japanese interests. It is probable that the most thoughtful Japanese statesmen regretfully reflect on that war, glorious as it was for them. However, they sowed the wind, and must be prepared to bear their share in reaping the whirlwind. All this may account for the friendly understanding which Japan now appears to be cultivating with China, probably in the hope of helping to reorganise the Chinese army and police for the sake of internal order and of the "open" door, and with a just and reasonable expectation of security therein through the co-operation of Britain.

On the other hand, that war gave to Japan a place among the nations that she could hardly have attained, and certainly not in the present generation, by any degree of cultivation of the arts of peace. Indeed, in all arts, whether of war or peace, the key-note of the present Japanese character appears to be a strenuous patience.

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PART THREE.

CHINA.

CHAPTER XXII.

INTRODUCTION.

I AM now going to sketch the progress of China during the nineteenth century. For the sake of uniformity in expression, the term progress is employed, but it should rather be termed the momentous change which has been coming over the Chinese dominion, which is still proceeding, and may ere long lead to national disaster.

The Chinese Empire covers the vast area of four millions of square miles, with a population of which the total is not exactly known and has been variously estimated, but may be taken at 350 millions of souls, or possibly 400 millions. Of this area about two-thirds, or $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions out of the 4 millions of square miles, consists of the mighty Plateau of Tibet, Tartary and Mongolia, one of the most elevated regions in the world. This Plateau is

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mostly desert, but has in parts a scanty and scattered population, amounting perhaps to 15 millions of souls at the most, or one-thirtieth of the whole population as above set forth. In former centuries the movements from this Plateau have transformed the face of China, erected and overturned its dynasties, altered, for better for worse, the destiny of its people. But during the nineteenth century the Plateau has played little part in the history of China, and will now claim but slight notice.

That part of the Chinese Empire which the Chinese inhabit lies between the mountains which form the eastern flank of this mighty Plateau on the one hand, and the Yellow Sea and the China Sea which are really parts of the Pacific Ocean on the other hand. This portion contains about a million and a half of square miles with the population of 350 million above mentioned, perhaps a little more or perhaps even a little less after recent misfortunes. In reference to its fertility, its means of inland navigation, its various resources, its teeming population, it is one of the finest dominions in the world.

Without attempting any geographical description, it is necessary to touch upon the main features of the land in order that the narrative of progress, or at least of change, may be properly understood.

Firstly, towards the north of China, the observer will perceive a very remarkable indentation on the eastern coast which has the dimensions of a gulf, and

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is indeed called the Pechihlee Gulf. This has a northern branch on its western end called the Liao Tung Gulf. To the north of these Gulfs lie the Liao Tung peninsula, well known in recent history, and Manchuria, reaching up to the Russian confines of Siberia. From the eastern part of Manchuria there runs southwards a long tongue of territory facing the seaward end of the Pechihlee Gulf, and, as it were, covering the Gulf. This is Korea, the fate of which has been much mixed up with that of China as will be seen hereafter.

The eastern coast line of China may be reckoned at about sixteen hundred miles facing the Pacific Ocean. Consequently the Chinese waters are very extensive. But of all these waters the most important is the Pechihlee Gulf, because at a short distance from the western end of it is situated Peking, the capital of the Empire. Thus the capital is situated in what must be regarded by most Chinese people as a remote corner of the Empire. This may, however, be convenient to the present line of sovereigns, who are Manchus from Manchuria close by. At a comparatively short distance behind Peking rises one of the mountain chains which form the flank of the great Plateau already mentioned. It is along the ridge of this range that there runs the famed Chinese Wall, erected to prevent incursions by the Mongol tribes.

From any examination of this north-west frontier it will be apparent that China is conterminous with

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the Russian dominions for many hundreds of miles; and that is a grave consideration.

Amidst these mountains rises the Hoang Ho or Yellow River, the greatest but one of the Chinese rivers. After an extraordinarily tortuous course, it used to discharge itself into the Gulf of Pechihlee, but in recent times it has changed its course and now joins the sea below, or south of the mouth of that Gulf. There are, however, rumours of its returning to its old mouth. This famous river has had no place in the political arrangements of recent times. But it has played an important part in the economic history of China, and in its winding basin has risen the flower of the Chinese population. It was in its upper and middle valleys that the Mongol invaders in the thirteenth century met the stiffest resistance they ever encountered, and that their terribly notorious leader Genghiz Khan fought his last battle.

Besides its proximity to the Capital and to the basin of the Hoang Ho, the Pechihlee Gulf has yet further claims on the notice of statesmen. On the north side of it is situated the new Russian naval station of Port Arthur. On the opposite or southern side of it is the new British naval station of Wei-hai-Wei. At the south-eastern or outer end of the Gulf is the wide promontory of Shantung, near the end of which is the new German naval station of Kiao Chow.

Southwards of the basin of the Hoang Ho there

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are ranges of hills running generally from west to east, and approaching the coast. These form the upper boundary of the valley of the Yang-tsze-Kiang, or blue, River, the greatest of Chinese rivers, and one of the great rivers of the world. It rises far away among the eastern flanks of the mighty Plateau already mentioned. After running for some distance from its imperfectly explored source it bears for several hundreds of miles the name of "the river of the golden sand." Then passing through the upland province of Szechuan, a region of some political importance, it reaches the last of its hilly barriers. It breaks through them with tremendous rapids and emerges finally on the plains. It then pursues a long course through a broad valley and enters the Yellow Sea, a part of the Pacific Ocean. Near the end of this valley is the historic city of Nanking. Just south of the mouth of the Yang-tsze-Kiang is the British commercial station of Shanghai. The position of Shanghai is of the utmost consequence from its proximity to the deltaic mouth of the river. Any naval force placed there virtually commands the mouth of the Water-System and the entrance of the Yang-tsze valley. From its expansiveness, its fertility and resources, its teeming population, its facilities for water-communication, this valley always has been, and still is, by far the finest part of China, and is indeed one of the finest parts of all Asia. As it contains the national and popular capital, namely Nanking, it will prob-

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ably be regarded as the truly imperial section of China.

South of this basin there rise hills which form the northern boundary of the Canton River. Near the mouth of that river stands the British island of Hong Kong, a fortified naval base, a coaling station of the first rank, and a centre of commerce.

Again, south of this rise hills which form the northern boundary of the Tongking or Tonkin River system, running into a bay on the coast, where is the French station established some years ago. Near the mouth of this Bay is situate the large island of Hai-nan.

Here ends the Chinese dominion and the kingdom of Siam begins. From this point the Chinese boundary turns north-westward, adjoining the upper valley of the river Mekhong, which flows down south to Cambodia and the French settlement at Saigon, and which is fast rising in political importance. In this quarter lies the province of Yunnan which borders on Burma in the Empire of India, and is the point of contact between the Indian and the Chinese dominions.

Those who judge the fighting power of China merely by the astonishing misconduct of the Chinese troops in quite recent times, would be struck by the undoubted records of Chinese heroism and endurance in former centuries. Their friends believe that in these days with system and discipline they would be just as good and brave soldiers as their forefathers

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ever were. They were the last to yield to the Mongols, who by their devastating invasions had overrun everything from the European waters of the Danube and the Volga right across Central Asia to the Pacific shores. Indeed the stiffest resistance which the Mongols encountered among all the nationalities who became their victims was that which the Chinese offered. Had the Chinese happily been at that time united, the Mongols would never have subdued China. But unfortunately there were then two Chinese kingdoms—the northern, that of the Kin with its capital at Peking, the southern, that of the Sung with its capital at Nanking. Even then the Mongols were occupied for many years in subduing the northern kingdom. Indeed they would hardly have subdued it had not the southern kingdom, foreseeing the doom of their northern brethren, made terms with the conquerors. But soon a breach occurred between the Mongols and the southern or Sung kingdom. Thereupon a desperate and bloody contest raged all along the Yang-tsze, the home of the Sung. At last the southern kingdom was beaten down, and Mongol rule was established for a time throughout China under Kublai, one of the few men of genius that the Mongol race ever produced. After him the Mongol rulers, dwelling in the soft climate of China, lost the hardihood bred in the Plateau, the home of their race, and in due course succumbed before a Chinese patriot who founded the Ming dynasty. After the lapse of a few centuries the Ming dynasty

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was displaced by the Tartar Manchus, under circumstances most discreditable to the Chinese. It was from Moukden, a valley in the heart of Manchuria already mentioned, that the Manchus came, who still sit on the throne at Peking. It appears now that they too have degenerated, losing the martial and political qualities whereby their ancestors rose to power.

The Chinese dominion proper has long been divided into eighteen provinces which appear to be almost devoutly regarded by the Chinese as their national patrimony. These need be here mentioned only in connection with the geographical sketch just presented. Beginning from the north the provinces of Pechihlee and Shantung adjoin the Gulf as already mentioned; they are partly deltaic or alluvial, and one, Kiangsu, is almost entirely so, being at the mouth of the Hoang Ho, just below, or south of, the Shangtung promontory. Then three—namely, Chekiang (just below the mouth of the Yang-tsze-Kiang), Fuhkien, and Kwantung (containing Canton)—are littoral, lying along the shore of the Pacific Ocean. Three—namely, Ganhwey, Hupi, and Honan—are rich inland provinces, partly in the basin of the Yang-tsze-Kiang. One—namely, Hunan, near the Hoang Ho—is rich and fertile. Three—namely, Kiangsi, Kwangsi and Kweichow—are of lesser though considerable richness. Four—namely, Shansi, Shensi, Kansu, and Yunnan—are frontier provinces near the eastern flank of the great Plateau

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and are in part hilly. Lastly, one—namely, Szechuan—is partly rich and partly mountainous. Thus is made up the number of the eighteen Provinces.

It will be observed that Manchuria does not fall within this number, though it is equally dear to the present dynasty as being their home. Thus Manchuria must be placed among the dependencies of China. In the same category is the vast Plateau on the West already mentioned, which comprises many well-known regions, notably such as Tibet, there bringing the Chinese Empire in contact with the British in the Eastern Himalayas, such also as Yarkand-Kashgaria in contact with the Russian dominions. Among the dependencies was to be counted Annam in the south, which in recent years has become virtually French. In that quarter China is contiguous to the French dominion in Cochin China. In former times China loved to reckon Korea among her dependencies; but of late she has been forced to abandon that claim.

Adjacent to so large a continent as that of China there would naturally be islands over which the Chinese continental power would have dominion. Among these islands are in the south Hainan, then northwards Formosa (now ceded to Japan) and a string of lesser islands leading towards Japan itself, the small but important islands of Hong Kong ceded to the British (near Macao, which has long been a Portuguese possession), and Chusan, an island which plays some part in the history which is to fol-

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low. It seems that the Chinese have never cared so much for their islands as for their provinces above mentioned, which alone are regarded by them as the component parts of their fatherland.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

STATE OF CHINA IN 1800.

As a foundation for the narrative of progress or of change in the nineteenth century, it is necessary to portray briefly the condition of China about the year 1800.

In 1793 the Emperor Chienlung of Manchu race had abdicated on completing a reign of sixty years, and on attaining an advanced age. Three years later, in 1796, he died, becoming in courtly phrase "a guest in heaven." This reign had been really magnificent, though its magnificence has been recognised by the learned only and not by the European public, because China itself was but little known in those days. One of the latest authorities is Professor Douglas, who writes: "The native historians state with justice that during the sixty years of his reign the Empire reached its acme of greatness. From the northern steppes of Mongolia to Cochin China and from Formosa (the island) to Nepal, the Chinese armies had fought and conquered. Upwards of four hundred million of the human race had obeyed the commands of the great Emperor." *

* See *Story of the Nations: China*, 1899, by Professor R. Douglas, of the British Museum, whose opinions on the re-

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Soon after the beginning of the century but referring to this time Mr. Ellis wrote: "It is impossible to travel through his (the Emperor's) dominions without feeling that he has the finest country within an imperial ring-fence in the world." Thus about the year 1800 all the countries mentioned in the preceding Chapter, the great Plateau, the rich regions between it and the Pacific Ocean, were under an united Empire. The mandates from the Imperial Court at Peking ran without question everywhere. Moreover each and all of the frontier tribes had been made to feel the Emperor's power, the Tartars in Mongolia, the Moslems of Central Asia, the mountaineers of the Himalayas, even the Gurkhas of Nepal, the Burmese, and the men of Cochin China. Externally there reigned a great peace beyond doubt. Internally there seemed to be order and system, but how far these blessings really existed will be seen hereafter. Apparently at least the aspect of affairs was smiling. In many respects the Emperor had shown himself a most capable ruler; whether he had done so in all respects will be considered presently. At all events few mortals ever went to their end with more veneration from a greater number of their fellow-men than he. Though he was by no means the first, he will probably prove to be the last of the great Chinese Emperors. China has never since

cent history up to 1899 I shall frequently follow, and whose orthography of names I adopt.

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been in as good a position as that in which he left it. He lived long enough to cause the first day of the nineteenth century to be ushered in for his Empire with a superb and cloudless dawn. But this dawn, as often happens with dawns of that glory, soon began to be clouded over.

Moreover this Imperial success had not been the work of the one reign just concluded, long as its duration of sixty years had been. It had been preceded by a strong and consistent reign of thirteen years. This, again, had followed a grand reign of over sixty years, that of Kanghsi, who was the real builder, if not the founder, of the Manchu dynasty. Thus the eighteenth century closed for China after an unbroken course of Imperial success extending over about 140 years.

It was to this inheritance that Chiaching fully succeeded on the death of his father Chienlung in 1796. Accordingly he was on the throne in 1800, and whatever he did afterwards, he had not up to that date done anything to lower his Empire, the condition of which at that epoch is now to be considered.

The first question relates to the religion of the Chinese at that time. It was then as it had been for some centuries, and as it still is, of a composite character. It may without exaggeration be described as quadruple; this may at first sight appear strange and unprecedented, but such is the fact. For example, there are in India three religions—the abo-

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riginal, the Hindu and the Moslem. Every person belongs to one or other of the three, and to no other at the same time. Ere long we hope that Christianity to a large extent will be added to this list. There are indeed some aborigines partly converted to Hinduism, who retain aboriginal rites, but if questioned they would declare themselves Hindus. Similarly there are vast numbers of Moslems of Hindu extraction who retain Hindu customs; still, if tested, they would acknowledge Islam as their religion. But such does not appear to be the case in China. A good Chinaman is in some respects an adherent of the aboriginal faith by modern scientists called "animistic," which with him includes the worship of ancestors. He may also reverence the primeval God Shang Ti.* To some extent he is Confucian, and regards the records of Confucius with reverence. Then he is probably to a larger extent a believer in Taoism, a system not founded on Confucianism but worked out by Lao Tsze, a contemporary of Confucius. Added to all this he accepts Booddhism in some degree at least, will occasionally attend Booddhist ceremonies, may even take part in some worship at Booddhist temples. Thus if asked, a Chinaman could not say offhand to what religion he belonged, inasmuch as he has some share simultaneously in all of the four religions above mentioned. It is understood that the Emperor as head of Church and State has to take part in the rites and cere-

* See Legge's *Religions of China*, Lecture I.

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monies of Shang Ti and Confucius only. Europeans cannot have anything like the knowledge of the Chinese which they, for example, have of the Indians. But if the feelings of a good Chinaman could be tested his heart would be found to be with the ancient faith, with its reverence for ancestors, its heaven from which Chinese sovereigns are descended, and its dragon-throne,* more than with anything else. He would have extreme reverence for Confucius as the national sage, prophet and patriotic moralist. But he would doubtless have a vain, worldly and superstitious regard for the pleasant externals with which Taoism has encrusted the purer faith which was handed down to it. Then he would wish to remain on good terms with Booddhism, admiring some of its fancies and observances, without having any idea of the deep principles on which it was originally founded. This tolerant and comprehensive spirit of the Chinese is rare and perhaps unique among the nations. This indicates, too, that the Chinese would be easily accessible to Christianity were it not for the adverse influence of the learned classes who will be mentioned hereafter.

In reference to religion it is impossible to leave without notice the remarkable progress and the rising political influence of Christianity in China, then its retrocession, and, notwithstanding that, the vitality of its missions, and lastly, the persecutions followed

* See Ball's *Things Chinese*, 1893, article "Dragon."

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by the depression under which it lay in 1800. After the coming of the famous Matthew Ricci in 1582 the Jesuits introduced their holy faith with consummate skill, with much learning and with the help of scientific knowledge, to which were added, despite all faults, devoted piety and religious fervour. But in China, as in other countries, they tried to adapt Christianity to the ideas, the beliefs, the ceremonies and customs which they found among the people. They seemed to think that some of these thoughts and imaginations contained certain elements of divine truth which might be assimilated to Christianity. They apparently held that some practices called religious were really social or ceremonial only, not amounting to actual worship, and so might be allowed together with the services of the Christian worship, or at least might be continued by the Chinese Christians without derogation of their Christian status. Prominent among these practices was the veneration formally paid to ancestors, which was regarded by the Chinese as one of the first of their duties. By some observers at the time, and by some subsequent writers, all European, it was almost believed that if the Christian Missionaries would interpret all these points of thought and of practice favourably to the Chinese, there might be a conversion of the people in masses, and a wave of Christianity might spread over the country. Doubts, however, arose among some of the Missionaries as to whether this extreme degree of toleration was right

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or consistent with the Christian profession. References were made to the Pope, who declared against it. Men from other religious Orders besides the Order of the Jesuits arrived in China, and disputes on this subject ran high. The Pope sent a delegate to China to settle the questions on the spot. Then the Chinese Emperor took umbrage at a Papal delegate being sent to China, and thus became hostile to Christianity. Moreover many of the Missionaries had engaged in lucrative trade, and that was severely reprobated by Papal authority. Thus by the end of the Ming dynasty, about 1600, the fair hopes of the propagation of the Gospel had been blighted.

In his entertaining book on *Historic China,* published in 1882, Mr. Giles has this remarkable passage: "Had the Jesuits, the Franciscans and the Dominicans been able to resist quarrelling among themselves, and had they rather united to persuade papal infallibility to permit the incorporation of ancestor worship with the rites and ceremonies of the Romish church—China would at this moment be a Catholic country and Booddhism, Taoism and Confucianism would long since have receded into the past" (p. 103).

If any such dream were dreamt at that time, the sixteenth century, it would not enter into the head of any one during the nineteenth. For meanwhile, that is before 1800, Christianity had become regarded as the harbinger of European domination, and therefore all the most inveterate predilections of

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the Chinese rulers and people had been arrayed against it.

But the withered hopes of the sixteenth century revived, and once more rose high in the eighteenth under the Manchu dynasty and during the long reign of the Emperor Kanghsi. His attitude towards Christianity was so favourable that men thought he was almost inclined to become a Christian. Under him the Jesuits were some of the most important men in the Empire, in civil as well as in religious affairs. They had their churches and congregations in almost every district. They supplied medicine to the sick, especially to the Emperor himself, becoming almost his body physicians; they taught mathematics, and by practical mechanics they made themselves useful in many directions. They held year by year an increasing number of lucrative civil positions.

It may be doubted whether the Jesuits ever could, at the best, have overcome the blank indifference of the Chinese who regarded Christianity as a harmless amusement, or have warded off the hostility of the *literati,* or educated classes, who included the officials or the Mandarins. As it was, they aroused extreme jealousy among the latter class, and were regarded as foreign intruders into civil spheres which ought to be reserved for native-born Chinese. About that time, too, trade with the West was beginning, and foreign vessels were seen with growing numbers in Chinese waters. Then that anxious fear regard-

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ing all Western people and things arose in the minds of Chinamen from the Emperor downwards; a feeling which has ever since dominated China, and which may possibly bring her to ruin. Thus towards the end of Kanghsi's reign in 1735, the influence of the Jesuits had become much restricted. His successor, Yungcheng, had a strong prejudice against the Christians; some persecutions even were instituted, and the entry of missionary recruits into the country was prohibited, with the intention that the Missions should cease as the Missionaries in the course of nature died out.

At the outset of his reign this Emperor received a deputation of Jesuits and made them a speech which is given *in extenso* by Boulger in his history, and from which some brief extracts may be noted here, as they illustrate Chinese opinion in the middle of the eighteenth century. The Emperor said: "You tell me that your law is not a false one. I believe you; if I thought that it was false what would prevent me from destroying your churches and driving you out of the country? . . . Ricci came to China in the first year of (the Emperor) Wanleh (in or about 1600). But then you were very few in number and you had not your people and churches in every province. It was only in my father's reign that these churches were raised on all sides and that your doctrines spread with rapidity. . . . You wish that all Chinese should become Christians, and indeed your creed demands it. I am well aware of

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this, but in that event what would become of us? Should we not soon be merely the subjects of your kings? The converts you have made already recognise nobody but you, and in time of trouble they would listen to no other voice than yours. . . . I will have none of you in the provinces. The Emperor, my father, suffered much in reputation among the *literati* by the condescension with which he allowed you to establish yourselves. He could not himself make any change in the laws of our sages, and I will not suffer that in the least degree there shall be any cause to reproach my reign on this score."

His reign was short; but in the long reign of his successor Chienlung the prospects of Christianity in no wise improved. Persecution indeed revived, though without anything like torture or death. A commission of Mandarins was appointed, who reported that the Christian religion was not at all bad in principle, but that "what we lay to its blame is that it has had the audacity to introduce itself, to promulgate itself, and to establish itself in secret. . . . The laws have long forbidden its adoption." This passage illustrates Chinese official opinion up to the close of the eighteenth century. In 1785 the Emperor issued an edict rescinding most of the harsh penalties which had recently been enacted. This, then, brings the story of Roman Catholic Christianity in China up to about 1800; Protestant Christianity not having yet appeared on the scene. The position of the Holy Religion in China was one of

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bare sufferance without anything like reasonable toleration; quite restricted in operation, still sustained under depression by the devotion of its priests and the fidelity of its scanty adherents. Yet, in justice to the Chinese leaders, it must be admitted that the doctrine of Christianity was hard for them inasmuch as it cut away the ground from under the so-called divine constitution of their polity. On the other hand their assertion that the Emperor of the day was veritably "the son of heaven," and hedged about with quasi-divinity, was manifestly absurd, because he often had to be deposed for utter misconduct, and some successful warrior enthroned in his stead. Even if an Emperor descended by lineage from remote antiquity could be counted as divine, how could such persons as these possibly have that character?

It will have been noted above how one Emperor stated that his Imperial father had suffered in reputation with the *literati,* owing to his favour towards the Christians. This leads to the consideration of these *literati,* that is, men of learning, who bore a Chinese title which European scholars have translated as *literati;* who were at the beginning of the nineteenth century as they had been in the previous centuries, and still are, the one class of commanding influence in China, and to whom more than to any other men are due the dangers and troubles by which the Chinese Empire is beset at this moment in 1899.

Several considerations have to be mentioned in order that the position of these *literati* may be understood.

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In the first place there was not at this time (1800), as there had probably not been at any other time, anything to correspond with the priesthood as seen in India or in any Moslem country, and nothing that approached to the priesthood as seen in the Continent of Europe. Chinese ministers of several orders, indeed, there necessarily were for each of the four religions already mentioned. But none of these priestly groups ever formed an organisation with the status, influence and authority which are commonly associated with the idea of priesthood. Perhaps the Booddhist priests were nearer to this conception than the other groups, but even they did not attain to it.

On the other hand, all that pertains to priesthood was monopolised by the professionally educated, or what would perhaps be called, in Europe, the professional class. The State instruction was imparted with extreme strictness in many unfruitful branches. The admission to the public service was by competitive examination, that being the first ambition of every instructed youth. Those who won became Officials and were styled Mandarins. Still many were on this examination found qualified for office but never received it, and they were styled by a name in Chinese which has been translated as *literati*. The literary classes, trained in all the learning of the Chinese, were the established guardians of the laws, the customs, the traditions, the authoritative literature of China. Under these august and venerable

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headings was included all that pertained to authorised beliefs, to ceremonial or ritual practice, to civil government, to social order and to the Imperial Constitution. Of all this, then, they were the keepers, the witnesses, the interpreters. Thus they not only became the high-priests of all that Chinamen cared for, but also they were the directors of the national education and of the instruction for the people. Their educational position was immensely augmented by the extraordinary fact that, in a certain sense and up to a certain point, China was the most educational and literary country ever known in ancient or mediæval times. In that particular regard she has not been surpassed by the most advanced country in recent times. It were strange to say, yet it may be said without exaggeration, that China has been, and was still up to 1800, a slave to her own literature.

It is very difficult for an ordinary European to adequately comprehend the character of Chinese literature; any mastery of it would be for him unattainable. By all accounts it contains much of stately, sonorous prose and some beautiful poetry, or at least versification. Interminable voluminousness was its awful characteristic. On each topic the volumes were counted by hundreds and the chapters by thousands. Gazetteers and Encyclopædias were compiled. An elaborate lexicography was instituted. Public libraries on a vast scale were maintained, a tribunal of history was set up and an official gazette published. All this was carried out or supervised by the

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literati above described, whose learning was enormous and whose influence was all-pervading. Literature, externally at least, dominated all affairs, and it was guided by them. How far it really exercised the authority it seemed to possess will be considered immediately. It was not only patronised but professed by Emperors. Their Imperial Majesties oftttimes essayed flights of authorship in verse and prose. Their announcements, on great occasions of Imperial demise and accession, were set forth in language both high-sounding and magnificent, sometimes adorned with grand imagery, and seemingly inspired by sublime morality. One of the strongest claims which the memory of the Emperor Kanghsi has on Chinese posterity is the immense dictionary of the language which was compiled under his auspices or supervision. It followed of course that the vast country was completely furnished with schools and colleges, in which the memory of the students was most severely exercised.

The system of examination has been much in vogue in recent times among Western countries. But no example of this sort nowadays equals that which has been set by China for many centuries up to the nineteenth century. Moreover when anything important was at stake the examinations were competitive. Probably the word competitive has never been so significant to European ears as it was to Chinese students during those centuries. There was in China a paucity of what would be styled aris-

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tocracy in Europe. The Chinese aristocracy was mainly official. Then the entrance to the circle of officialdom, which, however large, was still the charmed one, could be won only by competitive examination. One of the most dangerous rebels in Chinese history, the originator of the Taiping rebellion, turned into his dangerous course because he failed to win in the examinations. Modern educationists in Europe have rightly insisted on the difference between instruction and education. Nowhere in the world could so big an instance be found of this difference as in China about 1800. All the accumulated mental forces of preceding centuries were in full play then; the system was at the end of its long summer with all its sins in bloom and blossom.

This literary and educational system was as unsound as an over-ripe pear. It was an organisation of make-believe. Professor Douglas seems to consider that the Chinese leaders from Confucius onwards have been masters in the art of make-believe, that is, in the skill of making affairs look well, without being so in reality. A great display would be made of mechanism and machinery, but they never accomplished their proper ends. For example, there was an elaborate statistical department, but the numbers of the population were never ascertained within fifty millions, some even think within a hundred millions; there was an equally elaborate cartographical department, but the maps of the country were so defective that the Jesuit fathers first won the

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favour of the Emperor by supplying trustworthy charts. There was a historical department, but enquirers have justly complained that the histories show only the affairs of the courts and camps, but little or nothing of the real movements of the nation. This fault extended to still graver affairs; for example, despite the natural skill of the people (as evinced by their high proficiency in the industrial arts), the lack of knowledge regarding ordinary mechanism was so utterly bad that the Jesuit fathers had to repair the Imperial clocks.

There was a financial department naturally, but the revenues and expenditure were never known exactly, and no financier has ever been able to construct a Chinese budget worthy of the name. There was a war department, there were soldiers hardy and enduring on the wild frontiers, some commanders with a stomach for fighting and a turn for rough strategy. But the army as an institution was beneath criticism, worse than the worst of any large nation in any quarter of the world. The present state of the troops was never known within even a distant approach to the actuality; the armament remained antique when even surrounding Eastern nations were adopting improvements; the greater part of the infantry had bows and arrows when their brethren in Asiatic nations carried firearms. There was a navy, much needed indeed for the extensive Chinese waters and the numerous Chinese ports, but the ships were highly picturesque in build, resembling the

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feeblest ships in the Spanish Armada, and were rarely able to cope effectually with the horrid organisation of piracy in those quarters. Indeed the success of the pirates, who generally had regular head-quarters in the island of Formosa, was almost more than the ocean-borne commerce could endure even in an age when piracy was but too common in all the waters of the globe. The frequent prevalence, the temporary suppression, and the equally frequent recrudescence of piracy, redound to the discredit of the Chinese navy.

Worst of all was the mal-organisation of the Civil Service. The men were highly instructed, though not really educated, doubtless versed in the maxims of Confucius regarding the duties of princes, of rulers, of officers, and passed into the service by competitive examination. But when in the service they were never placed beyond the reach of temptation by reasonable emoluments. They were under a provincial Governor, in every province, and each group of Provinces was under a Viceroy. But these supervisors never received emoluments suitable to their position and power. They were left to pay themselves by pilfering from the revenue and by illicit exaction from the people. When the heads were of this nature, the subordinates were the same in their several degrees. The plan of helping themselves from the public treasury, and from the pockets of all the classes they ruled over, would spread right up to the highest ministers in the Emperor's Court.

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Added to all this there was such a centralisation of references and decisions at Peking under the Emperor himself, as would have hampered an administration which had been otherwise good, and as aggravated the evil of this administration in itself fundamentally defective. The Emperors seem often to have boasted of their own personal toils and of their own efforts at supervision. It never occurred to them that no Emperor could govern a large Empire in this way. The question was not what he could do himself, but what he could make countless others do. His business was to see that he was represented in every district by an officer honest in principle, placed by status beyond the motives for dishonesty, and in every province by vice-regents trustworthy and capable for the same reasons. This was the one thing never thought of by the Emperor, or by his Court or by his Ministry. So strongly had the tendrils of corruption clasped the Government in their deadly embrace, that had any Emperor individually essayed a reform, he would have been stopped by a palace revolution.

Thus there was a despotism of misrule and maladministration, tempered only by rebellion. When the evil passed or approached the bounds which the people set for it, then it would be checked by insurrection. This is the reason why Chinese annals teem with sedition, commotion and turbulence. The Emperor in whose reign these events were comparatively infrequent was deemed fairly successful.

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But the Emperor under whom they happened hardly at all was thought to have been a great ruler. This was especially the good fortune of the Emperor Chienlung, whose long reign closed just before the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Doubtless several, perhaps even many, of the Emperors showed capacity in dealing with particular affairs not requiring a long sustained effort, as for example some particular public works. Sometimes a road (unmetalled) would be made, again a bridge would be constructed, though not quite scientifically. Further, a navigation canal would be made, and the one between the Hoang Ho and the Yang-tsze-Kiang was among the finest in the world, and was, up to 1800 at least, repaired and kept in working order. Again, the permanent diversion of the Hoang Ho from the Pechihlee Gulf to the Yellow Sea under the orders of Chienlung, the Emperor, was a noteworthy undertaking. For these merits China may be remembered when her political faults are forgotten.

Most Emperors effectually fostered the industrial arts. It may be in fairness remembered that China gave her own name, in popular use, to pottery, porcelain and the whole range of ceramic art-work. In this branch of beautiful art she is among the oldest as well as the finest workers. In her exquisite silk works she has for many centuries stood high in the first rank of the world. In textile fabrics and in embroideries she has probably the very highest place

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for richness of colour and brilliancy of effect in combination. Amidst certain kinds of painting for graphic power, originality of design and exquisite manipulation she was remarkable. But for want of science she never reached any assignable rank in pictorial art as it is understood in Europe. In these respects and in many other departments of decoration she was perhaps as good in 1800 as she had ever been, and no decay was at that time perceptible.

Thus in various ways some Emperors, especially those of the eighteenth century up to 1800, did succeed in dazzling the imagination of mankind by holding together a huge and unwieldy dominion (with what means few stopped to enquire), by guarding frontiers of unequalled length, by victorious campaigns under physical difficulties (though never against any formidably trained enemy), by some public works of undoubted magnitude and value, by patronage of the industrial arts rarely surpassed in any age or nation, by personal diligence and desire to rule well (though foreigners seldom knew with what success or with what failure), and by puissance in pomp and pageantry. The effect thus produced is shown in the able History by Mr. Boulger in his Vol. II., Chapters X. to XXIV. He takes always respecting China the most generous view that may be compatible with historic correctness. He places three of the Chinese Emperors—Taitsong, the Chinese Cæsar, who set up the Manchu dynasty in supersession of the Mings; Kanghsi, who consoli-

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dated the Manchu power, and Chienlung, whose reign has been just considered—among the greatest rulers of mankind in ancient or modern times, and as deserving the title of Great.* This favourable view, if it be accepted, must be taken with large reservations in reference to what has been stated above regarding the realities of national life in China.

The Chinese people of the industrial classes were at this time, in 1800, of a cheerful and peace-loving disposition, so long as they were not provoked beyond endurable limits as understood by them; but in almost every locality there was a quivering fringe of society ready always for mischief if anything happened to shake the local authority, which was generally unstable. They looked on their Government as emanating from the semi-divine authority of their Emperor, otherwise they had no idea what good governance meant, having never seen or heard of such a thing. Their industry, in agriculture especially, had for centuries been proverbial, and still was so. In one important particular, namely, the application of sewage manure to the soil, they have not been equalled anywhere. As peasant proprietors cultivating their own holdings and paying easily and punctually the land revenue, so long as the demand was not excessive, they were as good subjects as any Emperor could wish for. They were strong to labour, of steady, temperate habits, and they brought up

* See Vol. II., p. 423.

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large families well. They were extremely tenacious of customs descended from the golden age of their ancestors, with its hazy sunlight, anterior to Booddha and to Confucius. Otherwise they were not fanatical, nor excitably bigoted, unless they were told that some foreign innovation would strike at their ancestral customs. Then indeed they would rise in anger to drive away the foreign person, on the same principle which they thought would justify them in insurrection against a dynasty too wicked to be endured. Their extreme conservatism, amidst which the foremost feature was the veneration, almost the adoration, of forefathers and ancestors, will have kept them straighter and steadier through all their troubles than they would otherwise have been. Though they are in many respects mild—perhaps sometimes gentle—there must yet be a vein of cruelty or a streak of fierceness in their character, as is seen by the savagery of their punishments and the idea among many Mandarins that the panacea for civil troubles is the execution ground. They are wanting in due respect for the sacredness of human life. Their religion makes them think that there is no "something after death" to be feared. When an execution is reported there has often been doubt whether the real man has been executed and whether some substitute has not been offered up. It has often been possible to find a vicarious victim to volunteer on a sum being paid down to his family.

The main foundation of the Constitution for the

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Chinese Society and polity was instruction in a learning for the most part unsound, and an education which Western educationists would regard as especially defective. It fed upon itself; it looked inwardly and in no other direction; it assimilated nothing from without; it was fated to suffer more and more from tenuity, and after long attenuation to die of inanition. It had all the faults which in physical development would arise from breeding in and in. To the educated Chinese mind nothing could be more abhorrent than the idea of "fresh fields and pastures new"; the counter notion of "familiar fields and pastures old" would be more acceptable. It would be forgotten that in this way there would never be any *pabulum* or nourishment, and that their system was doomed, like fire without fuel, to extinction. Accordingly such a system was unfitted to withstand the shock of adverse events from the outside. In the nineteenth century now opening there was destined to be crash after crash, and it will be seen how poorly the system fared.

The impression in the Chinese mind against all things foreign had, as already seen, been much deepened during the eighteenth century. Almost the last event in Chienlung's reign had been the reception of the Embassy despatched to Peking by the British King George III. under Lord Macartney in the hope of obtaining commercial facilities. The Emperor received the Envoy with courtesy despite the machinations of his courtiers. The reception,

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however, was not in the capital Peking, but at the Imperial hunting-seat in the mountains near Mongolia. The Chinese Ministers took care that the Mission should come to nothing, and when they saw the Englishmen proceed towards Europe they hoped, with the vainest of hopes, that no such Mission would reappear.

Lastly, in reference to some events which are to follow, it must be noted that the loyalty of the Chinese proper towards the Manchu dynasty, which is not Chinese at all but Tartar, never was to be entirely depended upon after the death of Chienlung. The magnificent successes of the Manchus during the eighteenth century induced the Chinese to accept a dynasty which was to them foreign. But when failures supervened in the nineteenth century, then that acceptance grew weaker in every decade. Then people recalled the memory of the really national Chinese dynasty which preceded the Manchus, namely, that of the Mings, which had lasted for three centuries. Although its fall was inglorious, still some of its sovereigns were great and good, especially the illustrious Hongwon, who is probably remembered by every good Chinaman. Thus from the beginning of the nineteenth century the word Ming became more and more a name to conjure with. The fact that Manchu troops were kept separate from their Chinese comrades, and that in many strategic points the garrisons were exclusively Manchu, may be perhaps attributed to apprehensions regarding

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popular feeling for the Mings. It was probably fortunate for the reigning dynasty that at several junctures during the nineteenth century there was no Ming personage of any pretension who could come forward.

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CHAPTER XXIV.

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR CHIACHING, 1800 TO 1820.

THE condition of China at the beginning of Chiaching's reign, that is, the year 1800, having been sketched, the course of national affairs during that reign may now be described.

Chiaching had inherited, from his predecessors during nearly a century and a half, a personal prestige rarely equalled in the history of any nation. The Imperial rule had been throughout that time a typical instance of personal government. That government had been conducted with many, though not all, of the qualities pertaining to kingly statecraft. In the imagination of the nation the predecessors of Chiaching had been indeed surrounded with the divinity that hedges in the king, and on him, as their successor, this celestial mantle descended. Very soon after his accession he began to dissipate this prestige and to abandon these advantages, until at last he flung them all to the winds. Professor Douglas states that "the gracious presence, courteous manner and marked ability which belonged to Chienlung were exchanged for churlish conduct, a sordid disposition and an uncouth bearing in the case of Chiaching." External amenity and amiabil-

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ity were probably of more consequence to the Emperor, owing to the temper of the Chinese, than they would have been in most Empires of so despotic and autocratic a constitution as that of China. It will be seen directly that Chiaching soon became unpopular in a dangerous degree.

Meanwhile an event happened of the most unpleasant significance. In the latter days of Chienlung the principal and favourite Minister had been Ho, a supple and insinuating Chinaman of humble origin. He had so ingratiated himself with the Emperor as to rise to the most confidential positions. While heir-apparent, Chiaching had suspected and disliked this man and, on becoming Emperor, resolved to bring these suspicions to a test. The sequel sheds so lurid a light on the Civil Service of China, that it shall be given in Professor Douglas' own words:* "Chiaching succeeded to the throne. The new Emperor had long disapproved of the unlimited power which Ho had exercised. He knew also that he (Ho) had acquired immense wealth in other ways than by the lawful exercise of his official position, and Chienlung was no sooner gathered to his fathers than Ho was arrested on a long series of charges embracing malpractices in every relation of life. The amount of wealth discovered in his palace must have been a surprise even to his judges. Gold, silver and jewels to the value of £23,330,000 were discovered in his treasury. This

* *China*, p. 185.

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alone was enough to convict him of the gravest crimes, and from a Chinese point of view to justify the sentence passed upon him of being cut to pieces. In consideration of his long service, however, the Emperor was graciously pleased to commute this cruel fate for the present of a silken cord, which brought the nefarious career of this illustrious culprit to a close."

Now this affair deserves a moment's pause for consideration, because it proves the vicious inefficiency of the Chinese Civil Service as explained in the last Chapter. This man Ho must have had more or less decisive influence, and that corruptly, in the appointment of the great officials of the Empire. Then they, having been appointed through a corrupt Minister, must surely have themselves shared in that corruption. It follows that the officials under them must have been corrupt also. Any person acquainted with Eastern administration will be persuaded that, with such signal dishonesty as that at the very head, the whole service must have been more or less dishonest right down to the bottom. Furthermore this most flagrant case happened in the very surroundings of the so-called great Emperor Chienlung. Whether after that he can be properly remembered as a great ruler, despite his splendour and success, may be left to the judgment of the well-informed.

It has just been stated that the new Emperor Chiaching from the very outset became unpopular. The events which ensued are attributed to this un-

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popularity, but they must have arisen from inefficiency and other faults as well. At all events sedition reared its head under the name of the "White Lily Sect." There was a bad recrudescence of piracy in the Formosa waters. Two attempts were made to assassinate the Emperor, one in the street of Peking when he was preserved by his guard, the other inside the Palace when he was saved by the valorous promptitude of his second son, Prince Mienning, who will be mentioned hereafter.

He had imbibed all the Chinese prejudices against foreigners, which his father had veiled under a polite masque, but which he displayed openly. His mettle in this respect was soon tried by the arrival of a Mission from the Russian Emperor, under Count Goloyken. When this Envoy reached the Chinese frontier at the Great Wall in the Mongolian Mountains intimation was officially conveyed to him that unless he was prepared to perform the ceremony of "Kotow"* before the Emperor at Peking he had better not proceed. Accordingly he did not proceed, but turned back, being resolved not to submit to that ceremony. In 1816 another Mission from the British King arrived under Lord Amherst. The Envoy after some vicissitudes of treatment did reach Peking, but never had an audience of the Emperor, and was, indeed, actually dismissed.

At this time, that is, from 1800 to 1816, many

* In Chinese Kotow means bowing so as to touch the ground with the head. See Giles, *Historic China.*

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circumstances combined to bring the British into prominence, of a strangely chequered kind, in the eyes of the Chinese. The war between England and France by land and sea caused the British Government to send many ships of war to Chinese waters. Twice was the friendly Portuguese settlement at Macao occupied by them to prevent it being seized by the French, as it was in the neighbourhood of the British trading centre at Canton. All this was denounced by the Chinese provincial authorities. Notwithstanding that, however, they actually applied to British Commanders for assistance against the pirates who from the robbers-nest of Formosa island were beginning to rule all sea-borne traffic except that which was carried by European ships. On one occasion the periodical tribute from Siam for the Emperor of China was coming in a Siamese ship; and the pirates were known to be lying in wait for it. So the Viceroy at Canton requested the British traders at Canton to fit out a fighting vessel and save the tribute-ship. This they did, and so the pirate fleet were attacked and dispersed, allowing the ship to pass in safety towards Peking.

In 1813 the monopoly of trade which had long pertained to the famous East India Company was abolished, though the Company continued as a trading agency for yet a short while. But this abolition set free the European traders at large, which at that time meant really the British traders only, free

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to embark on enterprises with the Chinese merchants. However advantageous all this might be to the material interests of China, and however acceptable to all the Chinese subjects concerned therein, the Emperor and his Ministers treated it with a hatred arising from every passion and sentiment that were as subterranean fires in the Chinese heart. The European traders were subjected to the indirect annoyances in the practice of which those Chinese officials were master-hands. The trade was so very profitable that the Europeans forced themselves to be patient and forbearing. The British King sent a friendly letter to the Emperor together with suitable presents. Chiaching's imperial reply was characteristic in the emptiness of its substance and the haughtiness of its tone. In the language of a suzerain to a vassal he condescendingly approved of the respectful terms of the letter, but distinctly intimated to the British Majesty that its interference would not be allowed on behalf of its "subjects who for a long course of years have been in the habit of trading with our Empire. We must observe to you that our Celestial Government regards all persons and nations with eyes of charity and benevolence, and always treats your subjects with the utmost indulgence and affection; on their account, therefore, there can be no place or occasion for the exertions of Your Majesty's Government."

This, then, was the attitude of Chiaching, the last of the Emperors whose reign passed without a dis-

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aster to the Empire. The foreign trade might indeed be desired by all Chinese producers and most Chinese consumers. But it would unsettle the minds and thoughts of the people, and would consequently be incompatible with the preservation of the ancient laws of China; it would let the Western light into the internal weakness of the Empire; it would introduce men who would not yield to unreasonable authority the obedience to which the Chinese Emperor had been accustomed in all times save of passing rebellions. Consequently it must at all hazards be checked, and if its suppression be impossible its expansion or extension must be prevented; and surely, with so vast a people and country as the Chinese, such prevention must be practicable. Such, doubtless, were the thoughts of the Emperor, of his ministers and officials and of the *literati* generally. Any politician, or any "man of the world," in the popular sense of the term, could see that such ideas would drive the Chinese Government and its officials into contests, even conflicts, with Europeans; and that in such events an excitable mob, at the beck of the very authorities who ought to have been restraining it, would mingle in taking an anti-European part. Indeed this anti-European policy, which had taken root in previous reigns, did in Chiaching's reign, during the early part of the nineteenth century, not only grow apace, but also assume a conspicuous form; and although he did not thereby incur any disaster for himself he paved the way for the disasters that befell his heirs and successors.

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During his reign there was developed a set of circumstances, regarding which he took no particular part, but on which his successors laid much stress to the political detriment of their country without any moral advantage in compensation. These related to the cultivation of the poppy in China and to the importation of Indian opium into the country.

The origin and progress of the drugs produced from the poppy are succinctly stated in the following passage from the Appendix to the Final Report of the Royal Commission on Opium in 1895: "As to China, the production and habitual use of opium (as distinct from the use of the seed and capsules of the poppy) seem to have reached that country also through the Musalmans, but of course much later. According to Dr. MacGowan the use of Opium came in with the Mongols who established the Yuen dynasty in China in A.D. 1260. The Mongols must have been familiar with opium from their previous conquests of Turkistan and Persia, and probably imported it from those countries. According to Dr. Edkins, production of opium in China is first distinctly mentioned in Chinese literature by Wang Hsi, who wrote in the fifteenth century. He found the cultivation established in those parts of Western China where there was then a Musalman population. Foreign opium must have been consumed at the same time in the coast districts of China, for, as is proved by the authorities quoted by Dr. Dane, the Portuguese in the commencement of the sixteenth

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century found both Arabs and Indians trading in opium with the Chinese and other nations to the east of India. It is a significant fact that ancient passages from Chinese poets and writers quoted by Dr. Edkins show that before opium was known drinks and decoctions, which do not seem to have been medical, were made from poppy seeds, and the juice expressed from poppy capsules."

The following passage may be quoted from the work of Professor Douglas as that of the latest authority in 1899:

"But however strong the feelings of individuals on the subject might be, interests were at work which militated against any direct action towards prohibiting the traffic. The use of the pipe had spread to almost every yamên in the Empire, and already large areas of the country were devoted to the cultivation of the poppy. In the province of Yunnan several thousands of chests of opium were produced annually, and in other provinces vast tracts were sown with poppy seeds. The drug had thus taken a hold upon the nation, and it moderates our view as to the injurious nature of opium when we observe that after so many years the evils arising from it are so difficult to trace. But at the time when the Charter of the East India Company was abolished there was another and a stronger reason why the local authorities of Canton and elsewhere were either openly or privately in favour of the continuance of the traffic. During the reign of Chia-

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ching opium was recognised as an article of trade, and paid duty at the rate of three taels per hundred catties (one catty equals 1 1-3 lb.).

"Subsequently, however, the trade had been declared illegal, and as it was plainly impossible to prevent the importation of the drug, a wide door was opened for the energy and daring of smugglers. These men were tacitly recognised by the local mandarins, who drew large though irregular incomes in return for their benevolent inaction. The natural result followed. While occasional censors exposed possible and impossible evils of opium smoking, and while the Emperor fulminated Edicts against the practice, the officials throughout the country, from the highest to the lowest, countenanced the importation of the 'foreign dirt'; and in inland districts, where it was difficult to obtain supplies from the coast, native farmers profitably supplied the officials and people with the means of indulging in the pipe."

In the conclusions of the Royal Commission on Opium there is the following passage: "The effect of that testimony may be most clearly conveyed by saying that the temperate use of opium should be viewed in the same light as the temperate use of alcohol in England. Opium is harmful, harmless, or even beneficial, according to the measure and discretion with which it is used."

So the Emperor Chiaching died in 1820 after a reign of nearly twenty-five years. He left the lofty fabric of Empire still standing with all its

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pretensions almost as inflated as ever, but with its foundations somewhat undermined. Though at the outset he did well one strong deed, namely, the convicting and punishing of the chief actor in official corruption, yet afterwards he could have done but little for good government internally, inasmuch as he fell into habits which, if not vicious, were low and utterly detrimental to business. At all hours of the day he kept company with players and singers of mean status. As years went on the life became so scandalous that one honest Minister ventured to remonstrate. In departing to be "a guest on high," he bequeathed to his brave son, who by bravery had saved the father's life (as already seen), the anti-European policy strongly developed and destined to bring upon China the crushing misfortunes which will be explained in the following Chapters.

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CHAPTER XXV.

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR TAOKWANG, 1820–1850.

In 1820 Prince Mienning, the second son of the Emperor Chiaching, ascended the Dragon Throne by his father's choice, under the Imperial style of Taokwang. He was of tall stature and grave deportment, much addicted to outdoor exercises, equestrian and other, and of some martial aptitude. Indeed he owed his selection for the succession to his presence of mind in saving his father from assassination in the Palace at Peking as previously mentioned. He was fairly sedulous as a ruler, and energetic enough at first until failure and disaster cowed his spirit and made him yield his energy to despair. As a youth he had sat at the feet of his renowned grandfather Chienlung, and imbibed all that national pride which was justified by the complete success reaching the utmost bounds of the territorial sphere embraced by the Chinese imagination. In his early life he could neither have doubted nor examined the foundations on which this towering superstructure rested. But during the twenty years which passed in the reign of his father Chiaching, that is, from 1800 to 1820, he had seen these founda-

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tions somewhat shaken. To rehabilitate the Empire, an Emperor with a full mastery over the Chinese system at least was needed, and he must have felt he was not such a one. Indeed he was half beaten in spirit before he entered on his arduous government. At the best he was not strong enough for his exalted place. Even if he had been a far abler man than he was, the effect of his ability would have been impaired by two faults which were but too common with Chinese grandees, and were as prominent in him as in any one. In the first place he was brimful of the blind, arrogant pride, inspiring him to issue high-sounding mandates as from a thundering Jove, without any insight into grim realities and without practical regard of consequences. In the second place he equalled, or even exceeded, the most ignorant and narrow-minded of his subjects in the dread of foreign trade and in the hatred of foreigners. By these two faults he was driven into a policy which rendered his reign disastrous to his Empire and brought him down with sorrow to the grave.

For the first fourteen years of his reign, that is, from 1820 to 1834, the Empire pursued the uneventful though uneven tenor of its way. At the western extremity there were troubles in the Great Plateau, and at the eastern extremity in Formosa Island, but these were overcome in the old manner. Internally there were drought, famine, inundation, pestilence, physical misfortunes to which the basin of the Hoang Ho had always been liable, but which

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the decaying administration was no longer able to meet with vigour.

But in 1834 there arose events which grew more and more menacing and which were the beginnings of what may prove to be the end of the Empire of China. It thus becomes important to consider briefly how these dangerous beginnings sprang up.

Up to 1834 the East India Company, though since 1813 it had ceased to possess the trading monopoly, yet continued to be the principal corporation for trade, especially as it was the administrator of a growing dominion in India. The Company was not disposed to drive any commercial policy to extremities with China, and was not under any particular pressure to do so. It was content with quiet progress not likely to arouse Chinese susceptibilities. The European centre for trade was at that time in and about Canton, as it had long been. There during the fourteen years from 1820 to 1834 the number of European traders so increased that they formed a trading community chiefly British. If they hardly had good days, yet they had better days than any they were allowed by the Chinese to have after 1834, or than any they ever enjoyed up to the most recent times when British influence has become supreme. But in 1834, by an Act of the British Parliament, the Company ceased to be commercial, and remained only as a territorial, virtually an imperial, administrator. Thus the retirement of the great Company from business threw open much trade to

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private enterprise, sure not only to advance but to press on and to push its way. Therefore it was felt by the British Government that there must be a British Officer of high status on the spot to regulate affairs. Accordingly a Representative was appointed and Lord Napier was selected for the duty. A historian might say that he was the representative of the British Crown, as he received a commission under the signature of the King. Nevertheless he was not commissioned to communicate with the Emperor of China or with the Chinese Government of Peking. He was to announce his arrival at Canton to the Viceroy. He was to try to extend European trade to other parts of the Chinese dominions, and he was informed that "with a view to the attainment of this object the establishment of direct communication with the Government of Peking would be most desirable." Now as the origin of great events must ever be instructive, it may be well to note that this procedure hardly accorded with the ordinary comity between nations. For surely a commercial envoy bearing a commission under sign-manual from the King of England ought to have waited on the Chinese Government at Peking. The justification rightly rested on the extraordinary conduct of China in the past. To accredit Lord Napier with a letter from his Royal Master to the Emperor would be only to expose his Lordship either to the polite evasiveness with which Lord Macartney had been treated, or else to the rude rebuff with

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which Lord Amherst had been visited, as shown in the last Chapter. If indeed Lord Napier had reported himself to the Chinese Ministers at Peking he would certainly have been referred to one of the Viceroys or Provincial Governors, as it was not the custom of the Imperial Ministers to hold communication with foreign officers. The British Government could not have tolerated this, well knowing that such toleration would only be misunderstood by the Chinese. Indeed it had occasionally been almost too forbearing in its anxiety to keep the peace for the sake of trade. It had to choose between two alternatives: either to abandon the trade, which in the then state of English opinion was impossible, or else to adopt the alternative above explained, notwithstanding the risk of hostilities arising therefrom. Under all the circumstances the alternative which it adopted was the preferable one.

With this Commission, then, Lord Napier arrived at the mouth of the Canton River, and sailed right up to the city of Canton. His proceeding so far into the inland waters of the Empire, as the Chinese called them, was resented by the local authorities. He sent a letter to the Viceroy, who was then at some distance from the capital, but who refused to receive it, and who further replied that the great officials of the Empire were forbidden to hold communication with "barbarians" (such is understood to have been the phrase) except under certain conditions. He was informed by the local officials that

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hitherto the leading Englishman had been a "taipan," or head merchant, and that there never had been such a thing as a correspondence to and fro with a "barbarian eye," the eye being a metaphor for minister. It is impossible for an Englishman to judge of the import of the Chinese word which in this context is translated as "barbarian," but it presumably had an invidious meaning of which the word foreigner would not be susceptible. In subsequent passages it is found associated with expressions certainly conveying scorn and hate. Having thus reached Canton, Lord Napier found himself in communication with no Chinese official, and unable to do anything for his countrymen. On the contrary, matters after his arrival became worse than they had been before, and manifold annoyances were inflicted on the British community in their settlement outside the city. They were officially designated "outer barbarians," whatever that might mean, and the meaning doubtless was not friendly. To all this Lord Napier published a reply to the effect that "The merchants of Great Britain wish to trade with all China on principles of mutual benefit; they will never relax in their exertions till they gain the point of equal importance to both countries, and the Viceroy will find it as easy to stop the current of the Canton River as to carrying into effect the insane determinations of the Hong." He was a prudent as well as a patriotic man, and the fact of his being obliged to openly use such language

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shows how far things had gone already in 1835. This was one of his last official acts, for he sickened and died shortly afterwards at Macao. Though the Government of neither nation was implicated, still the British at Canton had taken up one attitude and the Chinese another; and if neither should give way, then some outbreak of hostilities seemed probable, quite enough to involve national issues, especially as the British were supported by naval force.

About this time (1836) the Emperor Taokwang appointed a High Commissioner named Lin to proceed to Canton and regulate all affairs with "the outer barbarians"—a man destined to be the instrument of much misfortune to his country. To the blindness and arrogance of a Chinese official he added the quality of impetuosity. He at once required Lord Napier's successor, Captain Elliot, to address all communications to him in the form of a "pin," which is understood to be the Chinese equivalent to a petition. As the bearer of the English King's Commission, Captain Elliot refused, and thereon was obliged to retire to Macao, a Portuguese settlement in the neighbourhood. Then all the trade at Canton ceased, though doubtless the Europeans kept their magazines and stores there. Upon that Lin resolved to get possession of all the opium there, some twenty-five thousand chests of the drug imported by private merchants from India. The origin of the domestic production and the importation of opium has been mentioned in the preceding Chapter. There had

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recently been a discussion on the subject in the Peking *Gazette*. Some Chinese authorities had recommended the legalisation of the opium traffic. Others were opposed to this on the hardly concealed ground that to suppress the importation would be to keep out foreign influence, not as regarded this item particularly, but as regarded trade generally. It was upon these views that Lin acted, and having succeeded, perhaps more easily than he had expected, in seizing a great quantity of the foreign drug, he proceeded to inflict more and more of humiliation, including necessarily much commercial loss. One day in November, 1839, he commanded his men to take up arms against the foreigners. This brought on a collision; the English ships were at hand and many Chinese war-vessels were sunk. Thus the first blood was drawn, so to speak. Although war was not declared by the British, and apparently the Chinese Government was not accustomed to issue such declarations, yet a state of warfare fully existed.

The war about to begin was by some British people at the time supposed, under misapprehension, to be waged for the sake of the opium traffic; by some it was even styled by the misnomer of "the opium war." But all subsequent enquiries have shown that it was waged for the sake of trade generally, in which opium was only one item literally out of a hundred. Moreover British warships and British soldiery were employed mainly for the sake

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of the trade of the British Isles, to which field of interest opium did not belong. The drug was indeed an Indian product in part only, the greater part being produced in China itself. The Indian part of the traffic was heavily taxed by the Indian Government, and that taxation rested exactly on the same basis as the taxation on wines and spirits in the British Isles or elsewhere. But it was not for the sake of such a thing as this taxation in a remote dependency that the Parliament of Britain sanctioned war, at a time when it was intent on the far nearer and dearer interests involved in the trade of the British Isles. It was probably the seizure by Lin of the opium that caused the misapprehension to arise among a section of public opinion in England, although that was by no means the immediate occasion of the war. On the contrary, the vast quantities of the drug had been quietly surrendered to Lin's demand, and in that sense only could the drug be said to have been seized by him. If no further acts of provocation or even of aggression occurred, there need not have been, there probably would not have been, any war. It was the intolerably hostile proceedings of Lin and his men, in other ways and for other things, that caused hostilities from the British side.

Still the misapprehension mentioned above has remained so unalterable with many persons in Britain whose goodness commands general respect, that it may be well here to cite the independent testimony

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of ProfessorDouglas in 1899 (see his *China*), as one of the best and the latest authorities:

"The Opium Question was, as events fully demonstrated, only used by the officials as a convenient weapon with which to attack the foreigners. The refusal of the Governor to receive communications from Captain Elliot except in the form of petitions; the ridiculous regulations which he (Lin) laid down for the management of the merchants of Canton; and the sumptuary laws which it was attempted to enact for their guidance—all point to the real object of the mandarins, which was to drive the obnoxious foreigners out of the country. There was something particularly hypocritical in the horror professed by the mandarins at the continuance of the opium traffic, when we call to mind that along the entire coast-line of China from Canton to Tientsin the drug was smuggled openly by the officials and others; and that it was only in Canton and the neighbourhood that any attempt was ever made to check the practice. The mandarins made much of the number of foreign schooners which landed opium along the coast. But these compared with the native customs cruisers and other vessels, which performed the same service, were in numbers as one to many thousands. While the Governor at Canton was professing righteous indignation at the villainy of the English opium traders it was an open secret that his own son was daily smuggling cargoes in official vessels within his father's jurisdiction. Our sympathy with the pro-

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testors is seriously diminished by this evident insincerity, and by the consideration that, though, according to them, the practice of opium smoking had become general throughout the Empire, the energy of the merchants, the scholarship of the *literati,* and the industry of the people remained unabated. As we have already seen (the Emperor) Taokwang's son was a habitual opium smoker, and it would have been more to the purpose if, instead of emptying all the vials of his wrath on the heads of the foreigners, the Emperor had employed real and vigorous measures against the practice which he denounced, against the smuggling of the drug by natives, and against the cultivation of the poppy, which was already largely engaging the attention of native farmers.

"It is impossible under the circumstances to regard the professions of anti-opium Chinese as being genuine, and there can be no doubt that the Government deliberately chose to make a stalking-horse of the trade for the purpose of effectively exciting popular feeling against foreigners."

As bearing on the subject, the following passage may be quoted from the Final Report by the Royal Commission on Opium, published in 1895, already mentioned in the first Part of this work:

"In this matter responsibility mainly lies with the Chinese Government. It is for them to take the first step in any modification of the present Treaty arrangements. Upon the general question, the position which Great Britain may properly take up is

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clearly put by Mr. O'Conor, Your Majesty's representative at Peking, in his covering letter addressed to Your Commissioner. He says:

"'If the use of the drug in China depended on the supply received from India, it might be a practical question what measures could, or ought to, be taken to discourage its importation. But this is not the issue. The quantity of opium grown in China is increasing enormously. Even the nominal prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy no longer exists throughout the whole Empire, and were the importation of Indian opium to be stopped, China would in a few years so increase her production, as not only to supply her own wants, but probably to export opium to foreign countries.'"

On the whole, then, it must be said that no charitable construction can be put on the Chinese objection to the importation of opium from any moral standpoint. On the other hand, the Chinese may have sincerely entertained some economic objections which had not been thought of as they related to the international balance of trade. These related to the drain of silver from China to pay for the opium, inasmuch as India was not then taking enough of Chinese products to discharge the account and therefore a balance had to be defrayed by China in cash. A consideration of this kind, however, would have weighed but little with the Chinese in comparison with their cardinal object of hampering foreign trade. Moreover they had probably discovered from

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some European utterances that the moral bearings of the case could be so distorted and misrepresented, though unintentionally, as to create in certain quarters within England itself a sort of sympathy with the Chinese cause.

During 1840 preparations for war were made on both sides. The British had to collect their warships from a distance; the Chinese gathered large bodies of men around Canton, but the drawback to the use of these levies was that they were unarmed and that no arms were ready for them, which facts illustrate Chinese administration at that time. In 1841 Canton was blockaded and Chusan attacked by a British squadron. Not content with this the squadron proceeded to the mouth of the Peiho River, which river runs from the direction of Peking into the Pechihlee Gulf. This was the first appearance of British warships, with angry intent, in what may be styled the waters of Peking. So this really moved the Emperor and his Court, who, as is often the case with men of this stamp, passed from blind haughtiness straight into alarm and panic. Naturally the object was to get the British away from this awkward proximity, and to induce them to return to Canton far down south and there resume negotiations. For this purpose a highly placed Minister, Kishên, was employed, and the British representative, then Captain Elliot, assented. This is remarkable as showing the pacific anxiety of the British to avert further warfare. Elliot might well have said that peace must

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be settled there at the mouth of the Peiho within reach of Peking, at the risk of hostilities having to be undertaken against the Capital in the event of refusal. In the light of subsequent proceedings it is impossible to say whether the war would thus have been stopped. But had this procedure succeeded, the subsequent warfare would have been averted certainly. As it was, the British squadron returned to Canton, and Kishên was sent thither to make the best settlement he could. Though not exempt from the corruption universal among Chinese officials, he was the most reasonble and trustworthy man then available. Lin was recalled from Canton by the Emperor with scornful expressions, although, bad as he was, he had done nothing more than what he had been ordered to do, or than what he knew to be the then wish of his Imperial Master.

When at Canton Kishên met the negotiators, with the British squadron at their back, he found that he must satisfy their demands, if any agreement was to be made. So he agreed to cede to them a certain rocky islet near the mouth of the Canton River, and thus Hong Kong first appears. The British trade was to be conducted on international equality. On the other hand, whatever the British had recently captured in Chusan was to be restored. There were some further subsidiary provisions. This treaty, instead of being ratified at Peking, was torn up in anger; the unfortunate Kishên was sent up to Peking in irons to answer for his conduct in acceding to it;

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and after trial he was sentenced to death, though the capital sentence was commuted to one of banishment. Then the Emperor himself thought to conduct affairs, not by organising his forces, but by issuing fiery proclamations against Europeans whom he designated by Chinese expressions which have been translated as "foreign devils." One of his instructions to his officers appears to run thus. They were to "destroy and wipe clean away, to exterminate and root out the rebellious barbarians." He offered rewards for the heads of the British Representative and the British Admiral. These instructions were childish, but they show with what degree of common sense the Empire of China was directed during this its first crisis in contact with Europeans.

The British replied by making war in earnest, and a considerable body of troops were employed under Sir Hugh Gough, who afterwards became historic in India. Canton was first reduced to submission, then the coast trending northwards towards the mouth of the Yang-tsze-Kiang was attacked by the fleet and the troops in combination. Stronghold after stronghold, heretofore deemed impregnable by the Chinese, succumbed without much resistance. Then the fleet entered the estuary of the Yang-tsze-Kiang itself, justly held by the Chinese as their main inland water. Thereabouts one town, Chenkiang, was taken with heavy loss among the Chinese troops, and the British appeared opposite Nanking, the chief city of that quarter, the ancient Chinese capital, and the second city of the Empire.

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It may here be mentioned that while Chenkiang was being bombarded, there was revelry going on at Tching on the opposite side of the river. This was because the Tching people were feasting the British sailors who happened to be there. Thereon Professor Douglas remarks: "So complete is the absence of all patriotic feeling among the people of that 'jest and riddle of the world,' China."

Then the Emperor was convinced that peace must be made forthwith, so a treaty was ratified conceding all the terms that poor Kishên had conceded. Hong Kong was in the first place ceded as before, similarly the previous indemnity for the destruction of the opium was repeated. But whereas in Kishên's treaty Canton was the only port where the British were to trade on terms of international equality, there were now in the new treaty four ports added, namely, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai, the last named being the place which has played and may yet play a leading part in Chinese affairs. There was moreover to be a considerable indemnity to the British for the expenses of the war. This treaty, which was one of the sort which victors would obtain from the vanquished, was signed in August, 1842, with more promptitude than might have been expected, because the Emperor was anxious to rid the inland waters of the Yang-tsze-Kiang from the presence of British warships.

There was no sincerity whatever in this compulsory deed which the Chinese Emperor had to per-

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form. Here was an engagement of a nature which is nowadays termed epoch-making, which was perhaps the most important that any Chinese Sovereign had ever made, which would have a far-reaching importance to other nations besides Britain and China, and would lead sooner or later to similar engagements with other European nations. Yet the Chinese Government was so perverse as not to admit this document into the Imperial records at Peking. They persisted in treating it as a provincial paper and sent it to the keeping of the Viceroy or provincial Governor at Canton, in whose possession it was afterwards found by the English. This circumstance illustrates the temper of the Chinese Emperor and Ministers, which was fast driving their country to ruin.

The British authorities, returning southwards, took possession of Hong Kong, but on trying to regulate the trade at Canton found matters just as bad as they had ever been, the new treaty notwithstanding. It has been said with truth that in the huge disjointed Empire of China news may fail to spread for many months together. But no doubt in this case there was another and more potent reason, namely this, that the provincial authorities in and about Canton were resolved not to carry this treaty out if they could help it. They would represent that the Cantonese were turbulent; but that was false. The townspeople were quiet, civil and friendly, greatly liking the trade, the only disturbers being

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the unattached mob who were urged on by the officials. After a weary series of insults and wrongs some events occurred which induced the British authorities once more to send warships to Canton. At Shanghai some outrage was committed on two Missionaries and force was employed to obtain reparation. Matters were made still worse at Canton by the appointment of Yeh to be Governor—a man who may be bracketed with Lin, already mentioned, as being a factor in the ruin of China. The Emperor, forgetting the treaty, on one occasion issued a proclamation to the effect that the people of the Kwantung provinces were resolved that foreigners should not enter. As usual the supposed popular will was made the stalking-horse, the truth being that the people were well disposed enough; it was the *literati* and the officials, with the Emperor at their head, who had an evil disposition with implacable enmity. The troubles regarding British trade at Canton, bad and unjustifiable as they were, became perhaps less acutely felt because the British were developing their settlement at Hong Kong and turning it into a coign of vantage in every respect, commercial, political, naval.

As might have been expected, other nations entered into the breach which the British had made in the wall of Chinese exclusiveness. A Commissioner came from America; and the French Government sent a request not so much for trade privileges as for further liberty to propagate the Roman Cath-

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olic religion, to which request a limited compliance only was granted.

It has been necessary during this narrative to mention the subject of opium, but also to avoid encumbering the story of war and politics with allusions to a controversy which has raged around the drug, and which though allayed has not ceased up to this day. But after this stage in the career of China, the subject will hardly reappear, as its position will be subordinate to the grave, even tremendous, issues of other kinds which will supervene. Still for the satisfaction of those who have held and still hold strong convictions in the matter, it is well to conclude this Chapter by adverting to the conclusions of the Royal Commission as those of the best and newest authority; though it is to be feared that no such conclusions will ever be accepted by the anti-opium party mentioned in the last Chapter save one of Part I. of this work. The appointment, the enquiries, the Report to the Queen by that High Commission and presented to Parliament, the action of the House of Commons thereon, and the dissent recorded by one Member out of the nine Members of the Commission, Mr. Henry J. Wilson, have all been mentioned in that Chapter. These proceedings related to India primarily, and the result was that the opium system existing there should not be disturbed. But they touched indirectly on China also, because the two countries, the one producing, the other consuming, could not be separated. In this place the

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observations of the Royal Commission will be noticed only so far as they relate to China. Mr. Wilson cites the opinion of Dr. Medhurst of the London Missionary Society, a brave and enterprising minister, who drew a moving picture of the evils of opium used in excess. But as he entered China in 1837, when the country was barred against him, he could not have gone very far into the interior. His descriptions relate to individual excesses, probably in some seaport town, and are fully accepted so far as they go. But then he might have entered the dens of vice in any European or Western city, and found things as bad, indeed even worse. The horrors he might have witnessed in, for example, a gin palace in London would not have been accepted as a reason for denunciations against all persons engaged in the gin trade, such as those which he directs against all concerned in the opium traffic. It is here that the misapprehension, as many think it to be, has its beginning; why, they will ask, is opium to be singled out from among the drugs and spirits, alcoholic and narcotic, things which have ever been and still are used by all nationalities whether Western or Oriental, and why are the Chinese to be selected from all the rest of mankind for reprobation in this respect? Still, it must be allowed that the majority of Missionaries of *all* Churches condemn the use of opium in China, as shown by their evidence before the Royal Commission. So the anti-opium advocates are entitled to the full benefit of this impor-

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tant body of testimony. But the Royal Commission observe that many of these excellent men are the advocates of total abstinence and would similarly condemn every drug or spirit in any country regarding which they might be consulted. On the other hand, there is a minority among the Missionaries, who though believing, as everybody believes, that the excessive use is most pernicious, yet hesitate to condemn the moderate use, and this is the opinion of some among the Medical Missionaries. This view, too, is taken generally by many among the non-missionary witnesses, the mercantile professions, the consular service, the official classes, whom the Royal Commission consulted. It is to be remembered, too, that the officials in China think only of Chinese interests and pay no regard to the Indian excise on opium. The condemnatory evidence is often of a general character, so that in justice to the Chinese some specific testimony ought to be mentioned. Sir George des Vœux, late Governor of Hong Kong, writes: "It is probable that the population of Hong Kong (over 200,000 Chinese) smokes more opium than any other of the like number in the world, and yet relatively to the conditions of its existence, it is extraordinarily healthy, while for activity and industry it could scarcely be surpassed." Then Mr. Wodehouse, the police magistrate in the same colony, writes: "Taking the Chinese population of Hong Kong in its entirety, although it is probable that the great majority of the male adults are consumers of

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opium, and although they have as much opium at their command as they may desire, there is nevertheless an entire absence of any general appearance of either physical or moral deterioration. Their appearances are those of a busy, thriving, well-to-do population."

The Royal Commission sum up their conclusions thus: "On a review of the whole evidence in regard to opium-smoking among the Chinese we conclude that the habit is generally practised in moderation, and that when so practised the injurious effects are not apparent; but that when the habit is carried to excess disastrous consequences, both moral and physical, inevitably follow. Assuming this conclusion to be well founded we may fairly compare the effects of opium-smoking among the Chinese population to those of alcoholic liquors in the United Kingdom."

Adverting to historical notes prepared by one of its Members, the Royal Commission say: "We wish to express our general concurrence in the conclusions at which our colleague has arrived, that opium was exported from India to China before European nations appeared in the Indian seas; that opium-smoking was a habit in existence in China before British rule began in India, and at a time when British merchants took little or no part in the opium trade; and that to speak of opium as having been forced upon the Chinese is, to say the least, an exaggeration."

Nevertheless the dissentient Member, Mr. Henry

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J. Wilson, takes a different view of the evidence. He says that the main purpose of the production and sale of opium in British India is to supply the Chinese and other Eastern markets. It might at first sight appear that the markets were in the main supplied in this way. But such could not have been the writer's meaning, because the main supplies have been from China herself throughout this century. Then, apparently in distinction to opium-eating, he refers to "the practice of opium-smoking as in the highest degree prejudicial morally and physically to those who indulge in it, as is established beyond all reasonable doubt. English officials resident in China and the far East have for the last hundred years continuously referred to opium-smoking as a cause of moral and physical destruction." Five names are given in support of this, among whom three are distinguished, namely, Sir George Staunton, 1816; Sir Stamford Raffles, 1826; and Montgomery Martin, 1840. After referring to the testimony of the Missionaries and to two Medical Missionaries especially, and laying stress on that of Sir Thomas Wade, also to the majority of English officials in China, Mr. Wilson regards this as "overwhelming in its force against the opium habit in China." From the evidence taken as a whole he considers it "abundantly manifest that opium in China is a gigantic national evil." In illustration of his Minute he appends many elaborate notes. The question must often arise as to what the witness

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really means; if asked regarding the immoderate use of opium every witness absolutely without exception will denounce such use. But if he be questioned regarding the moderate use then a different complexion may often arise.

The Royal Commission evidently do not regard the evidence as approaching unanimity either way. Indeed they say that it is often of a mixed or even a conflicting character. Still they were appointed by the Crown to be the judges, and certainly their view of the evidence is not that of Mr. Wilson. There are two points to be considered by that large public opinion to which the appeal must ultimately lie. The first is whether, taking them all in all, the Chinese people should be described as temperate, according to the European use of the term; and the answer is that they certainly should. The second is from a moral standpoint what, in a case of this kind, is a national evil. Many members of the anti-opium party would conscientiously hold that "drink," in its technical sense, is a national evil throughout the British Isles and in any northern or English-speaking region. Yet the mass of the British people could not maintain such an opinion. It follows that if "drink" is not "a gigantic national evil" in the British Isles, neither is opium so in China. But those who will undertake to affirm that "drink" is a "gigantic national evil" in Britain are quite consistent in saying the same of opium in China.

For the sake of China, Mr. Wilson recommends

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that the production of opium in India be stopped by the action of the Government. That has been already alluded to in the last Chapter but one of Part I. As regards China, the British reply is summarily this, that there can be no cause for their interference in this respect, as that would have no impression whatever on the Chinese consumption. The Indian variety was never at its highest more than a superior sort, as for instance like champagne among the wines of France. It was never more than a small portion as compared to the Chinese mass. And now it is being gradually superseded by the Chinese varieties, whether that be from improvements in Chinese production or from the Chinese manufacture. The only business of the British Government is to tax the article effectually, and that is done. If all this be still condemned by some, then it must be remarked that the object of this Chapter is to discuss the conduct of the Chinese and not that of the Government of India.

In order to do justice still further to the anti-opium party advertence may be had to the first and greatest of their advocates, Lord Ashley, afterwards the Earl of Shaftesbury. He made a motion on the subject in the House of Commons in 1842, which, however, was not pressed lest there should be any embarrassment in the negotiations then pending. His biographer, Mr. Hodder, writing in 1886, says that "there can be little doubt that future generations of Englishmen will unhesitatingly condemn

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the policy which has long been pursued in regard to this iniquitous traffic." He goes on to aver that "English Ministers did not scruple to secure by fire and sword the maintenance of the unholy traffic." Now authors who permit themselves to write thus of their own countrymen are not likely to be moved, much less convinced, by any enquiry which may be made nowadays. It may suffice here to remark that in 1895, after the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission, the House of Commons formally declined to condemn the policy above mentioned. Mr. Hodder, after giving a brief history, which would not be accepted by historians of to-day, writes: "Such was the state of things when Lord Ashley, Mr. Gurney and Mr. Fry began the long crusade against the opium trade—a crusade that has not yet achieved its crowning victory." That is true indeed, for the crusade has been defeated by the enquiries made in a judicial manner. But the object of the crusade will be finally achieved in a manner little foreseen by the crusaders. For the Indian opium is being, and will yet be, driven out of the Chinese markets by the growing production in China itself and by the improving manufacture of the Chinese-grown drug. We have Mr. Hodder's authority for Lord Ashley speaking, in his speech before the House of Commons, in regard to Chinese consumers of opium, of "their hideous disfigurement and premature decay, resulting in misery almost beyond belief, destroying myriads of individuals annually." There

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may be always a doubt regarding spoken words; but if Lord Ashley meant the smokers in excess, then strong language was well deserved by them, just as it would be by inebriates or the sufferers from delirium tremens in Britain. But if he meant the Chinese opium consumers in the mass, then the information of 1842 must have been very defective and misleading in order to draw so great and good a man as His Lordship into such exaggeration as this. He said that the Bible (doubtless meaning the Protestant Missions) and opium could not enter China together. But in fact opium to a large extent had been grown in China for some generations before Protestant Christianity had been heard of in that country. Sir Robert Peel, then Prime Minister, did not seem to be moved, and was understood to say that as we could not put down gin at home we could not concern ourselves about the importation of opium into China. The justice of the Minister's argument was perhaps not appreciated at the time, because it was not then, in 1842, known that the Chinese themselves were the great producers, and that the Indian importation formed only a portion of the supply. Still the anti-opium party are entitled to the benefit of the fact that Lord Shaftesbury was their first leader, and that he probably did not materially change his opinion up to the end of his valued life.

Henceforth, although there will be some questions regarding the regulation of the opium trade by the

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Chinese Government, yet the matter need not reappear in this narrative. The object has been to present the whole case according to the latest authorities; so that hereafter the narrative of grave events may not again be interrupted by a controversial subject.

Although the bad relations which, in contravention of the Treaty, the Cantonese officials insisted on keeping up with the British, were enough of themselves to endanger the Empire, other and still worse dangers were springing up. The people, as already stated, were not rising against the foreigners. Yet many of them were minded to rise against the Government and against the Manchu dynasty. The country round Canton was perhaps more inclined to disturbances than most parts of China, and the news of all the degrading disasters suffered during the hostilities with the British had by this time spread abroad, and the effect was a general dislocation of authority. Thereon several sects of a treasonable character, one of them bearing the name of the White Lily, which had for some time existed secretly, now began to rear their heads. So the years rolled on heavily and stormily for the Emperor Taokwang, whose health, too, was declining fast.

Very early in 1850, the precise date being uncertain, Taokwang died, sunk in superstition and mentally depressed. This depression may have been caused partly by a retrospect of his thirty years' reign, which even the sympathetic historian Boulger

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pronounces to have been "one of unredeemed failure." But he must have been profoundly anxious regarding movements, nothing short of treasonable, which were affecting some of the inmost parts of Chinese society in the southern districts of the Empire, which were rising even at the very time of his death and which rose immediately afterwards. He was standing, whether he knew it or not, though he probably did know, on the brink of the events which soon grew into the notorious Taiping rebellion, and which will be prominently mentioned in the following Chapter.

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CHAPTER XXVI.

REIGN OF EMPEROR HSIENFENG, 1850–1861.

In the spring of 1850 the fourth son of the late Emperor Taokwang ascended the Imperial throne with the style of Hsienfeng. As already stated, a dying Emperor chooses his successor irrespective of primogeniture. If Taokwang had, for any reason, domestic or other, to pass over the three elder sons, he had a choice between the fourth and the fifth, namely, Prince Kung. The fourth was unworthy and the fifth was well worthy, as will be seen hereafter. Unhappily for his country, he chose the unworthy one, who is now to be styled Hsienfeng.

The new Emperor was a headstrong youth nineteen years old, of dissipated habits, consequently not likely to have health or strength for the management of affairs, or nerve for facing danger. Though never showing the courage to be expected from his race, yet he had some of the short-sighted arrogance and all the worst prejudices which had injured the careers of his father and grandfather. He hated the foreigners even worse than they did, and this hatred of his induced him to incur fresh risks of the very sort which had ruined his father's reign, and now were to bring on his own the most

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disgraceful disasters which had, as yet, ever befallen the Chinese Empire. After a short and inglorious reign he died weakened by debauchery in the flower of his age, away from the Imperial Capital, whence he had fled on the approach of the foreign enemy.

His position was indeed very hard from the outset. His father had left him a distracted inheritance. Disturbances, not quite amounting to rebellions, were rising in his southern provinces. Physical distress from famine had afflicted some of his fairest provinces; abuses and corruptions had grown, like rank vegetation, so fast under the prevailing troubles that even he or his council were obliged to issue a mandate against them. Moreover the relations of his Government with the foreigners were again becoming dangerously strained.

The very first trouble, early in 1850, which the new Government had to meet was a marked accession to the movements in the southern Provinces which have been already mentioned in a prefatory manner at the end of the last preceding Chapter.

Above the seething surface of these events there arose a personage who must be noticed, and his name was Hung. He is described by Professor Douglas as being "born of a Hakka or emigrant family," as "having studied the way-worn classics of his country, and presented himself at Canton as a candidate for examination. But the fates were against him, and his failure is accounted for by some who at-

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tribute it to the fact of his parentage—the Hakkas being looked upon as a pariah class—and by others to his want of scholarship." Later on he fell ill and "as he tossed in his bed in delirium he saw strange and weird visions . . . he saw the Almighty who entered his room and placed a sword in his hand. . . . It is more than probable that he really believed his divine mission . . . he was able to impress those about him with a belief in his views, first of all his own household and afterwards in the neighbourhood. Followers gathered to him, and they endeavoured to spread the doctrines of the 'Association of the Almighty' which he established." For this nomenclature, he adopted the word "Hu," which, being distinctly imperial, became unpopular and was prudently dropped. But he at once "associated himself with a far more treasonable corporation," namely, "the Triad Society." Then he raised "troops who, full of iconoclastic zeal, destroyed the Buddhist temples in the country and threw down the idols." Thus his great rebellion was overtly begun.

First he captured several towns near the city of Canton, the capital of Kwantung province, without any resistance from the Chinese; but, finding that the defences of that city were being strengthened, he sheered off, and turning northwards, entered the province of Hunan. Near the capital of that province he was threatened with resistance for the first time from a Chinese commander. Again, however, he moved on, leaving the place untaken in his rear,

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and being pursued, though quite ineffectually, by the Chinese troops. He, however, received submission and supplies from every town on his way. Multitudes flocked to his banner, in the sole belief that he was a man of success. He had neither organisation nor commissariat. His so-called army was a foraging horde who stayed in each locality till they had eaten up its supplies, and then went on to fresh fields and pastures. So he entered victoriously the middle basin of the Yang-tsze, the finest part of the Chinese interior, after having overrun with armed success two large provinces of the Empire within three years from the inception of his "divine mission," that is, between 1850 and 1853.

It was from this position, thus mastered, one of the most characteristic parts of historic China, the scene of some among the most heroic deeds of the Chinese nationality in the Middle Ages, the region of the great canals and the river-highways, the seat of the most beautiful of the Chinese industries, that early in 1853 he issued his so-called "celestial decrees," couched in terms of outrageous profanity and assigning to himself celestial powers direct from the Almighty. He then attacked and took Nanking, the capital of the lower Yang-tsze basin, the old Imperial capital, and still the second city of the Empire, with a ruthless and wholesale slaughter of the Manchu defenders and inhabitants. Thus he occupied the provinces of Ganhwy and Hoope in addition to the other two provinces already mentioned. He

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then "proclaimed himself Emperor of China, announcing that his dynasty was to be known in future as the Taiping Dynasty. In support of this new dignity he severally appointed four of his principal supporters as kings of the north, the south, the west, the east. . . . He was never subsequently seen beyond the gates of his palace." The above quotations are from Professor Douglas. But in order to accentuate the low, bestial nature of the man, who had been permitted to do so much under celestial pretensions, the following passage from the historian Boulger may be cited: "He (Hung) retired into the interior of his palace and was never seen again. It was given out that he was constantly engaged in writing books, but the truth was that he had abandoned himself to the indulgences of the harem. He had chosen thirty of the women who had accompanied him from Kwangsi, and of those who had fallen to his spoil as a conqueror, to be his wives; but not content with this arrangement he allowed only females to attend on his august person." The consequence of this was that the eastern of the four kings, really the lieutenants, already mentioned, was acquiring potent influence. He laid claim, like his degraded chief, to celestial powers, and carried on the rebellion with more activity than ever.

The deltaic region of the Yang-tsze was now swept by the Taiping rebels close up to the British commercial settlement of Shanghai. This approach excited strange and conflicting emotions among the European

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community at Shanghai. Boulger writes: "The missionaries, who possessed the almost complete control of the literature relating to China, were disposed to hail the Taipings as the regenerators of China and as the champions of Christianity. . . . Confident declarations were made that the last hour of the Manchu dynasty had arrived, and that the knell of its fate had sounded. The murmurs on the other hand were not less emphatic that the Taipings had ruined trade." There seems to have been doubt among the British whether they ought not to recognise the Taiping leader as the *de facto* ruler. They, however, decided to maintain their relations with the Emperor at Peking, to preserve an attitude of neutrality, to do nothing for the rebels and nothing against them so long as they observed the treaties between the Chinese Government and the Europeans. General Butler, who wrote the short life of "Chinese Gordon," and who must have had access to many records, affirms that as private traders the Europeans helped the Taipings by selling to them arms and ammunition. He writes: "The possession of the delta of the Yang-tsze-Kiang had given the Taipings access to the foreign trade, and thus put them in possession of whatever money could purchase in the way of guns, small arms, and munitions of war. . . . What this trade was may be judged from the seizure of a single English ship which was found to contain three hundred pieces of ordnance, several thousand rifles and revolvers and fifty tons of ammunition."

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Meanwhile the position of the rebel leaders, that is, the four kings appointed by Hung, who was now retired from "celestial" business, really commanded the lower and middle Yang-tsze valley, the very finest part of China. It was being "watched," in the historian's phrase, by two Imperial forces. Apparently the Imperialists could at first only watch those whom they ought to have crushed. However, those watchmen were themselves attacked; they made counter attacks; there was some real fighting on both sides; some brave and faithful Imperialists were slain; still, no impression was made upon the great rebellion.

Then the rebel leaders held a council of war at Nanking and resolved to attempt a march on Peking itself. For this striking enterprise two forces were employed, one of which was to undertake the forward and foremost part, the other to co-operate or perhaps to form a reserve. Both forces at once began their respective movements and traversed without any difficulty the country that lies between the rivers Yang-tsze-Kiang and Hoang Ho, the two great rivers of China, and thus became masters of both these valleys. Thus, too, they overran triumphantly two more great provinces, namely, Shantung and Shansi, making up a total, with those previously captured, of seven provinces. For the most part their march was unopposed, for it was necessarily energetic and rapid, because in the absence of commissariat they had to spur and press on, when supplies failed them

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in one place, to the next place. At one point only did they find that a real stand could be made by the Imperialists. Seeing that obstacle, they moved off and passed on, apparently without any attempt being made by the Imperialist commander to pursue them or to harass their rear. Thus they reached the valley of the river which runs by Pekin through Tientsin to the Pechihlee Gulf. Here they stopped for a short while at Tsinghai, distant about two marches from Tientsin itself. Hereon Professor Douglas writes: "The march had been daringly executed, and it reflects infinite discredit on the Imperial forces that so much had been accomplished at so small a cost. In a six months' raid the rebels had captured twenty-six cities and established themselves within a hundred miles of Peking. But the movement had been made in defiance of the true principles of warfare. . . . After a short rest at Tsinghai they marched to the attack of the neighbouring city of Tientsin. Here they found General Sankolinsin . . . and failed to make any impression on the fortifications garrisoned by the troops of this veteran. This check was fatal to the expedition. To have marched on Peking, with Tientsin untaken in their rear, would have been an act of full-moon madness, and the general in command wisely determined rather to force his way back to Nanking than to advance to certain ruin. With some difficulty and considerable loss he managed to cut his way through the intervening Imperial host and eventually succeeded in bring-

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ing a remnant of his forces to the capital of his chief" (Nanking).

The other column, which had started with the idea of supporting the first expedition, on hearing of the retreat from Tsinghai retired with alacrity and retraced its steps to Nanking. The Imperialists' Commander took heart when he saw the rebels retreating, and recaptured many towns with the same ease with which they had been captured; clearing the Taipings out of the Hoang Ho basin by the beginning of 1855. Still, however, the rebels kept the whole valley of the Yang-tsze from its mouth up to Tchang near the foot of the first mountain range, a distance in a straight line of 800 miles, the richest part of China, with their capital at Nanking. Thus they were closely confined, but the area of their confinement was magnificent indeed. Within that area dreadful deeds were done by the rebels among themselves. As Boulger writes: "Prince murdered prince; the streets of Nanking were flooded with the blood of thousands of their followers." The town of Shanghai was occupied by them and was recaptured by the Imperialists with European aid. The European settlement there was for a time in imminent danger and was saved only by the protection of European warships. In short, had it not been for the presence of Europeans and their active aid, the Imperialist cause would have been rooted out from the mouth and estuary of the Yang-tsze as completely as it had been from the delta and this valley. Thus

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the great rebellion stood in 1855 and 1856, too large indeed, yet without further enlargement, and so it remained for several years. Having beleaguered it, the Imperial commanders might have attacked it in its last strongholds; but they and their troops were diverted towards Peking by grave complications with England and France which will presently be mentioned.

Before quitting these events it is needful to add that in 1854 and 1855 the "Triad" rebels (in their origin and conduct something like the Taipings) had been stirring in the south near Amoy and Canton. Their successes in the towns were similar to those which have been recounted in the career of the other rebels; but they were checked by the fortifications of Canton. In both Amoy and Canton barbarity most shocking followed the reassertion of Imperial authority, and checked the European sympathy which was beginning to rise in favour of the Emperor as against the rebels.

The first landmark in the rebellion has now been reached. Sir William Butler * graphically sums up the result thus: "The Taiping rebels, moving from the southern province of China, had overrun the wide delta of the Yang-tsze-Kiang, the centre of the richest industries and gardens of the Empire. City after city had fallen before them. Nanking, the ancient capital of the Southern Empire; Soochow,

* In his memoir of General Gordon, Macmillan's "Series of English Men of Action."

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the fresh-water Venice of the East; Hangchow, the gate of the imperial canal, had all been carried." In order that there may be no idea that the events are exaggerated, the latest available authorities have been cited as regards the principal points, though there are countless details which might make the complexion even worse, for the inferences to be drawn from this great case are truly terrible.

The Taiping rebellion, then, though still great, remained from this time, 1856 till 1861, without further aggrandisement, mainly through its own viciousness rather than through any Imperialist efforts. In that sense it may be described as quiescent and stagnant for a while. This, then, is the moment for pausing a brief while to regard the lurid light which such an affair casts on several categories of national development, that is, on the Imperial constitution, the polity, the body politic, the social framework, the temper and disposition of the Chinese.

Without pressing the case against an ancient, an interesting, in many respects a great, though in the end an unfortunate, people, it must in truth be declared that this vast rebellion was thoroughly disgraceful to the Chinese in each and all of these categories. No doubt the case did not touch the whole Empire, but it did affect at least seven out of the eighteen provinces, or nearly half the Empire, and that the richest, the most populous and civilised half. It has been understood from their admirers that the

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Chinese are a religious people with reverent awe for antiquity, for ancient culture, for the authority of philosophy and literature. But here they suffered a mean wretch of outcast family and almost illiterate, capable of turning his own house into a moral pig-sty, to usurp of his own authority a so-called celestial status. They suffered him and his to desecrate the temples and to carry off the attendants to serve in his forces. Forgetting their own dynasties of old renown, memorable so long as Asiatic records shall survive, they endured that he of his own will should proclaim himself Emperor of China in the old national capital. They have been described by some as intensely patriotic, but here they let him and his motley host set at nought in the twinkling of an eye all their laws, institutions, systems elaborated with amazing patience and perseverance through many centuries. They had an antique class of learned men, heretofore wielding all over the country the influence wielded in other countries by the priesthood; but now this class nowhere appears as exerting itself for order. They have been reported as brave, and their annals teem with instances of heroism; but here nothing but cowardice is shown from one end of the country to the other, hardly a hand or a voice is raised over the broad sea of folly; and the national failure is but slightly redeemed by a very few brave and loyal men who have not been, and probably never will be, wanting where Chinamen are gathered together. They are represented as much attached to

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local and provincial systems for militia and regular troops, even insisting that their armies shall be provincial; yet here the militia did nothing, perhaps even fraternised with the rebels; not one of the provincial armies made a stand for its province. Heretofore they had been actuated by municipal sentiment, but now long-established cities, literally by scores and scores, opened their gates to the marauding host who stayed like a flight of locusts till all the edible stores were depleted. Of the Imperial Generals one only made a real stand, and he was a Mongolian; had it not been for him the rebels might have reached Peking. The wealthy and well-to-do classes must have seen that the movement had no purpose, no policy, no object except boundless pillage. The plunder must have been immense, and the fact that the wealth of the country was not exhausted only shows the wondrous power of secreting which Orientals possess. Yet with all this, no combination among those who had means, knowledge and experience was made anywhere to stem the wide-spreading torrents of disorder. Other revolutions have arisen in other countries, but always by reason of grievances, of oppressions, of something to be redressed, to be demanded, to be won. In this short-lived revolution, there was no grievance put forward, no principle, not even the wildest allegation, no demand made. There was nothing but aimless excitement and wicked cupidity on the one hand and the grossest national inefficiency on the other.

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If the Chinese were proud, as by some they are supposed to be, then their pride suffered in this case a blow well-nigh irrecoverable.

For all that there must have been some thoughts working in the Chinese mind at this time, which may be hard for a European to discern, but which may have brought about some indifference to passing events. There may have been a latent disloyalty towards the Manchu Emperor as being of a Tartar dynasty. As regards him even there may have been the thought of China for the Chinese. Still more was the thought operating as regards the Europeans who as traders were already strong on the seaboard and were likely to extend into the interior. The *literati* were perhaps falling into despair because of the new knowledge flowing into the country, not only from foreign intercourse, but also from the operations of the Christian Missions.

It was at this juncture, 1856, that the Chinese chose to provoke fresh hostilities with the British at Canton, which have become known to history under the name of the Second Chinese War. If it was the Chinese Emperor and Ministers that courted this fresh foreign danger, with the Taiping rebellion checked but not suppressed, and very far from extinction, their conduct would seem insane. But very possibly they had no real control over affairs so far down south as Canton. Their ordinary communications were indeed intercepted by the rebels, and an Imperial despatch, if addressed to Canton, could have

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reached there only by some circuitous route on land or by sea, running the gauntlet of the British ships at or about Hong Kong, now grown into a political centre and a naval base. Doubtless the conduct of affairs must have been left mainly to the Viceroy at Canton, the Yeh already mentioned, a man of corpulent habit but truculent in temper, blinded by fury, hot-headed with fanaticism. Doubtless he waited not for orders from Peking, knowing that the new Emperor hated foreigners even more, if possible, than his predecessors had done. He determined that the Europeans should not have the position assigned to them by the Treaty, but should remain on sufferance, and subject to any humiliation he might choose to inflict. Insulting proclamations against them were posted up in Canton, memorials were erected in honour of an Official who had been instrumental in expelling them. Several outrages happened, and then an event of a crucial character occurred. A lorcha, a small Chinese craft with a crew of twelve sailors, named the Arrow, and lawfully flying the British flag, was lying near the mouth of the Canton River. She was boarded by the Chinese, her flag was hauled down and trampled on deck, and her crew were made prisoners. This was the beginning of the Second Chinese War. The British Representative, then Sir John Bowring, demanded reparation, not from the Chinese Government at Peking, but from Yeh at Canton. This not being obtained, he proceeded to make war upon Yeh at

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once. Such a procedure was doubtless necessary, but it did not accord with international usage among civilised nations, and it illustrates the pass to which things had been brought by the practice of the Chinese, who in war and politics were really uncivilised. Accordingly the British Admiral, appearing off Canton, shelled the Yamen, or palace of Yeh, breached the city wall, and landed a party to enter the city. But not having enough land force to occupy the city he withdrew, having thus left his mark on it. Various operations followed in the Canton waters, a few British ships engaging victoriously large numbers of Chinese war-vessels. The Chinese evinced much determination in fighting, and the English did just what might have been expected from them in positions of much difficulty.

The British Government in London now felt, in 1856, that although matters were flourishing at Shanghai and were going on well enough at the other Treaty Ports, yet were reaching at Canton a pitch which demanded direct relations between the Sovereigns of the British and Chinese Empires. Here was active warfare going on between the British at Hong Kong and the Chinese at Canton, which was, however, not acknowledged as war, and was not recognised as such between Britain and China. The British Government held that this irregular state of things, however necessary it may have been, must not be allowed to last. So the Earl of Elgin was despatched as Plenipotentiary with a force of European

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troops to deal with the whole case on the spot. His arrival was delayed because on his way he patriotically complied with a request from the Governor-General of India to lend his troops to help in surmounting the crisis of the Indian Mutinies which began in May, 1857. At last he arrived at Hong Kong and opened communications with Yeh at Canton, demanding the fulfilment of the Treaty and reparation for the breaches of it. No answer worth having was received, and by the end of 1857 Lord Elgin proceeded to Canton and required Yeh to surrender the city. This being refused, the ships with their guns breached the walls, which were then occupied by British troops; the provincial treasury was seized; Yeh himself was captured and sent off in a British ship to Calcutta, there to end his days; and the city was placed provisionally under a Board of European Officers, greatly to the comfort and satisfaction of the townspeople. So strange were the relations between the Governments of Britain and China that even this step, of the very strangest character, was taken without any communication with the Emperor at Peking.

Lord Elgin, however, forthwith reported to the Chief Secretary of the Emperor the events which had happened at Canton, and asked for a meeting at Shanghai. The Chief Secretary was not authorised to give His Lordship any direct answer, but sent his reply to the Viceroy of the Shanghai region, requesting him to communicate with the British Min-

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ister, who was then at the head of a naval squadron and a military force. The communication was to the effect that the British should communicate with the new Viceroy, who would be appointed to succeed Yeh. But the captivity of Yeh did not seem at all to move his Imperial master. All this supplies a justification for the direct and irregular procedure which the British had been obliged to adopt. Even after the severest lessons the Emperor, doubtless with the advice of his Ministers, would neither abate his pride nor communicate with the foreigners. His language was that of reproof to the British for their offence in taking Canton, and of imperial magnanimity towards the offenders.

Lord Elgin, however, most properly desired to have nothing more to do with any authorities in the Canton province, but to enter into relations with the Emperor at Peking. So he proceeded in force up the Pechihlee Gulf to the mouth of the Peiho River, near the famous Taku forts. He was there received by the Emperor's Government with such discourtesy that he caused the forts to be captured at once and proceeded up the river to Tientsin, an important town about eighty miles from Peking. Then at last the Emperor began to come to his senses. First he appointed two Commissioners of competent rank to negotiate a treaty with Lord Elgin, but he also sent an imperial agent named Keying, the best man then in China, to induce Lord Elgin to withdraw from Tientsin. This being refused, as might have

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been foreseen, Keying returned to Peking, where he was brought to trial for his failure and immediately executed. This again illustrates the hapless temper of a Chinese Emperor. When an inevitable failure occurs it is attributed, not to the nature of things Chinese, but to the alleged misconduct of an individual who is not only innocent but praiseworthy, and who is wrongly sentenced to exile or to death. This of itself suffices to prevent the Emperor ever being well served. Just as Kishên was sacrificed because he made regarding Hong Kong the very treaty which was afterwards sanctioned, so now Keying was sacrificed even more completely because he could not do the impossible, namely, induce Lord Elgin and his forces to retreat. Then the Treaty of Tientsin was concluded in 1858 by which the China trade is still regulated. The old Treaty was confirmed, and in addition to the five Treaty Ports previously mentioned, five more were declared open to European trade, namely, Newchwang in Manchuria, Tenchow, Formosa, Swatow, and Kingchow in the island of Hainan, making ten Treaty Ports. To this was added the important agreement that the British Queen should appoint a Resident Minister at Peking. For the moment it seemed as if the warfare was over, but this agreement was so treated by the Chinese that the warfare was renewed in the form of a regular war which brought the Chinese Empire to the verge of destruction. No sooner had the Emperor signed the agreement to receive a British Resi-

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dent Minister than he entreated that none might actually be sent. When told that such a Representative must be sent he begged that this might not be till the following year, and this respite was granted. It was understood that the Minister would come to exchange the ratification of the Treaties. The reason given for the delay was the alleged turbulence of the Peking townsfolk. This was, as usual, unjust to the people, for they were quiet and friendly enough, unless hounded on to outrage by their own governors.

About this time the French Government proposed to send a Minister Resident to Peking, and this was refused. The French had acquired a certain position, though not a large one, in the commercial affairs; and one of their Officers was on the Board of Administration at Canton. So the refusal at Peking predisposed them to offer support to the British in any coercive measures which might become necessary. Moreover the Emperor Napoleon was then anxious to make a display in the East, though he had no considerable interest in Peking, and he wished that display to be in conjunction with the British.

According to previous announcement, a British Minister, Mr. Bruce, arrived at the mouth of the Peiho in the following year, 1859, with a squadron of ships, as befitted his rank and the occasion, and proposed to proceed up the river as far as Tientsin. As they were passing through the mouth of the river, the passage was found to be blockaded in a

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formidable manner, and a heavy fire was opened upon them from masked batteries in the forts. They replied by landing men to attack the forts, but after gallant efforts were unable to pass through the deep and quagmiry mud. Thus the British had to retire with heavy loss, after an attack treacherously made on them in time of peace and shortly after the conclusion of a Treaty.

Forthwith the British prepared for war to be formally declared. The French Government wished to join them, so an allied force of thirteen thousand English under General Hope-Grant, and seven thousand French under General Montauban, in all twenty thousand men, was appointed to attack Peking. The fact that so small a force as this was deemed sufficient for attacking the capital of the then most poplous Empire on earth, shows to what a depth the Chinese military repute had sunk. Yet the British were minded to give the Emperor one more chance. So in 1860 Mr. Bruce presented an ultimatum requesting him to make reparation for the treacherous attack at Taku and to fulfil the Treaty. Although this proceeded from a British Minister appointed under Treaty, the Emperor would not treat with him or even reply to him, but sent a reply to the Governor of the Nanking province, with whom Mr. Bruce might, if so minded, communicate. Thus the Emperor ignored the recent Treaty, and from his tone and language was evidently resolved not to receive a British Minister at the capital as

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provided by Treaty, although this was manifestly the only measure by which a recrudescence of the troubles in the Canton country could be averted. Thus nothing remained save coercion by armed force.

So the European Allies advanced, took the Taku forts by land attack, and after resistance here and there from Chinese forces, including cavalry, Tartar and Mongolian, went on to Tientsin. There some attempt was made by the Emperor to negotiate, but the Commissioners were found to be without power to conclude anything, and this futile effort proved abortive. So the Allies went on to a point half-way between Tientsin and Peking. There a Prince arrived to beg Lord Elgin to retire back on Tientsin. Then it was agreed that some British Officers were to be sent onwards to arrange a convention which under the circumstances would be of the simplest kind. These were Wade, Parkes and Loch, all names which have since become historic. It were tedious to recount the story of Chinese evasions, smiling pretences, treachery and destructive schemes while peace negotiations were nominally going on. The British force narrowly escaped being entrapped by these negotiations into an encampment where they might be surrounded by overpowering numbers. Loch and Parkes in their diplomatic capacity fell among thieves, in that they were detained by Chinese Officials, then imprisoned together with other members of the British force, insulted, maltreated and brought before "the Board of Punishment" in the

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most noisome dungeon of Peking. Meanwhile the allied troops were advancing on Peking after defeating the Chinese in two considerable actions. Thereon the Emperor fled his capital in the most dastardly manner, and betook himself to his hunting lodge at Jehol in the Mongolian mountains, leaving Prince Kung, his brother, in charge of affairs at Peking. Thither he was followed by Ministers who, feeling themselves physically safe up there, breathed fire against the foreigners and urged the Emperor to refuse any terms with them, facing the consequences at any cost. At a council held there the death of Loch and Parkes was decreed, and their death-warrant was signed. Happily intimation was sent to Prince Kung at Peking, just one quarter of an hour before the arrival of the Imperial Messenger with the warrant. He instantly released the distinguished prisoners, and it was only by this narrow margin of time that their fate was averted.. Meanwhile the British had virtually got command of Peking, and Prince Kung accepted on behalf of his brother a Convention of Peace, which generally confirmed the Treaty of Tientsin already mentioned, and which regulates the relations between Britain and China to this day. The two documents were to be read together, and all this being ratified, the wretched Emperor was compelled to issue an edict notifying the Treaty throughout the Empire, so that all the Chinese should know what had actually been done. The British were so indignant at the astounding

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treachery with which their countrymen had been made prisoners, and the brutality with which all had been treated and under which some of them had succumbed, that Lord Elgin felt himself obliged to leave a signal mark, not on the city of Peking where the people had not offended, but on the residence of the guilty Emperor. So the famous Summer Palace was formally and deliberately destroyed. Then the Allies, Ministers, troops and ships left northern China as the autumn was advancing.

Among the subsidiary arrangements in the Convention were the opening of Tientsin to foreign trade as a Treaty Port in addition to the several Ports already mentioned, and the cession to the British of the town and lands of Kowloon on the mainland opposite the island of Hong Kong.

Thus ended the year 1860, most miserable and disgraceful for the Emperor Hsienfeng, indeed the worst year known for China ever since the invasion by the Mongols of Genghiz Khan in the eleventh century. Hsienfeng had with simple infatuation caused a war to be waged with European Powers in order to evade the ratification of a Treaty in which he himself had been a party and to avoid the fulfilment of its principal provision. His brother, Prince Kung, who was regent for him at Peking, urged him to return to his capital, but he would not. At Jehol he remained with his Council, who were full of anti-foreign or reactionary ideas, and quite capable of again plunging the State into the troublous

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waves from which it had just been rescued. Seeing the danger, Kung proceeded to Jehol, and finding the Councillors to be impracticable men, formed a secret alliance with the two Empresses, one of whom was the senior wife, while the other was the mother of the eldest son, then four years old. The Emperor himself was still only thirty years old, but his health was fatally broken. His humiliations were enough of themselves to bow him down, but there was also a deadly enfeeblement from debauchery. So he sickened and died in August, 1861, at Jehol, after a most discreditable reign of ten years. His infant son was proclaimed Emperor at Jehol with the Council for a regency. Kung, however, would have none of this; he induced the two Empresses to bring the infant Emperor to Peking, and then to dismiss the Councillors. He caused the leading men among them to be brought to trial for offences against the State, and to be put to death. He then established a regency with himself and the two Empresses, and the boy Emperor was proclaimed with a new title (see page 389).

Of Prince Kung more will be heard hereafter, and perhaps he will hardly maintain the high position which would at this juncture be assigned to him. He was certainly the foremost man in China during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Had he been chosen Emperor in 1850 instead of Hsienfeng, his country might have been saved from many of the misfortunes she had to suffer. His vigorous, wise

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and patriotic conduct in the autumn of 1860 at Peking certainly saved the Manchu dynasty from extinction, and perhaps averted the dismemberment of the Chinese Empire. His management in 1861 was perhaps disfigured by cruelty in the execution of the Ministers. Otherwise it prevented the sorely wounded Empire from relapsing into the dangers from which it had only just emerged. Henceforward he is conjoined with the two Empresses, and it will be difficult to discriminate his individuality with any certainty, though his influence doubtless will pervade the Imperial counsels. If so, he must be held partly responsible for the disasters which are yet to be narrated.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR TUNGCHIH, 1861–1875.

When the late Emperor Hsienfeng died ingloriously in his mountain-retreat at Jehol, he appointed his eldest son as his successor, who was then four years old and was proclaimed Emperor under the style of Chihsiang. This style of his was shortly afterwards changed to Tungchih, under which title he is known to history. Being a child, he was under the control of two Dowager Empresses, both of whom were the widows of his father, the late Emperor Hsienfeng, and one of whom was his mother. The two Imperial ladies were in the first instance assisted by a Council of regency. These Councillors were superseded through the energetic action of Prince Kung, the late Emperor's brother, who then with the two Empresses virtually formed the regency.

Still, from this time the Imperial authority passes virtually, though not quite nominally, into the hands of Imperial Ladies. The succession to the Imperial Crown, and the exercise of that Imperial authority, which is the sole source of all power throughout the Empire, are settled and regulated secretly within the walls of the Palace of Peking. As Professor Douglas writes, "No secrets are al-

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lowed to escape beyond the pink walls of the Palace." Such a system, almost unknown in Chinese history, and quite unknown for many generations, deprived the Chinese constitution of almost its last chance of standing. By that constitution the Emperor must rule by personal government. All the Emperors had done so, some well, others more or less ill. Still, each one of them had played a personal part, and there always was some guiding will consistently acting, even though it acted in a wrong way. But now there was no personality to be recognisable in the Government. None could say from whom the policy of the day might emanate, whether from the Imperial Ladies, or if so from which of the two Empresses, or whether from Prince Kung, or whether from the Ministers. If indeed the Chinese law had admitted of a female Sovereign being chosen to succeed, then possibly either of the two Ladies might have proved to be a competent Empress, for both were understood to be able women. In that case she would have been individually responsible, and might have acted worthily. As it was the two must have been tempted to pull in different directions, yet neither of them effectually, because of the Council of Ministers. On the other hand the Council was never effective because of the Empresses. Thus in addition to a perilously critical state of affairs which would have taxed the wisdom and energy of the best government that could have been invented, unhappy China was now to have as futile and fatuous a gov-

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ernment as could well be imagined. It was saved at the capital and the headquarters by the Prince Kung already mentioned. As a Prince Imperial, and the son of an Emperor, he had long been eligible to be appointed Emperor. Had he been so chosen, then the Chinese Government would have had some chance of being saved. But Providence decided otherwise as against China, though he still remained in some degree of power, and even that was something for China in her distress. Besides him there arose two brave and good Generals in the field, and two, perhaps three, able and trustworthy administrators. Thus China, though broken, was able "brokenly to live on."

One official improvement was made for the better regulation of the relations between the Chinese Government and the European Powers. All Foreign Affairs, which had heretofore filled a meagre place in the Colonial Department and had been treated with something akin to contempt, were henceforth to be dealt with by a Board resembling a Foreign Office in Europe and to be called the Tsung Li Yamen. Of this Board Prince Kung was the head.

Peace having been concluded with the two European Powers, England and France, the new Emperor and his Regency were in 1861 left free to deal conclusively with the Taiping Rebellion, already mentioned as the worst disturbance internally that had ever arisen in China. At the present moment the juncture was in this wise. The rebels were under

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two leaders of heavenly, and consequently imperial, pretensions in the eyes of the Chinese. Of these one called "the Heavenly King" was resting luxuriously in his palace at Nanking; the other, called "the Faithful Prince," was actively fighting in the field. They had got possession of the entire valley of the Yang-tsze, and were burning villages actually within sight of the European residents at Shanghai. In conjunction with the local Imperial authorities, the Europeans raised a small Chinese force under European Officers. This was commanded by Mr. Ward, an American who, though a civilian, was a brave and skilful soldier. With a little band of a very few thousand men he went through seventy fights, winning them all, within two years, and in 1862 was killed in action near Ningpo, a short distance south of Shanghai. The Government at Peking were so well satisfied with this little force that they in a childish manner called it officially "the ever victorious army." On Ward's death the command was given to another American named Burgevine, who quarrelled with the Imperial officials, and was dismissed. Then some military mishaps occurred, and though warships, both British and French, were co-operating with the efforts made on land, the situation was felt to be grave. So a careful selection was made of an Officer to command "the ever victorious army," and consequently in March, 1863, Captain Gordon was appointed, who soon became famous as "Chinese Gordon." In Sir William But-

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ler's words: "The task before him (Gordon) was to reduce the delta and a score of walled cities to Imperial authority. He will do it, he tells the Chinese generalissimo, by the very means which this labyrinth of canal, lake and river puts into his hand; for with all its intricacies it is only a big chessboard, its vast mazework making it all the better for the man who first learns it by heart; these creeks and cross creeks will be so many parallels and trenches for sapping up to the very heart of the revolt, for turning cities, taking positions in reverse, and above all for using the power which steam gives to transport men, stores and munitions along these navigable waterways. It is now the month of March, 1863; by August, 1864, the last city will have been taken from the Taipings and the delta cleared." In acting up to a programme thus graphically sketched, Gordon displayed a many-sided genius which entitles him to a high rank among the men who are soldiers by nature. As the Taipings were being driven by him to bay they evinced the courage of despair, and there was much real fighting. In the thick of the operations he was nearly being superseded by the folly of the Imperial Government. Burgevine had appealed in person at Peking, and had brought an Imperial order for restoring him to command. But the local authorities with English support at Shanghai retained Gordon in his position. There was yet another interruption, this time from Chinese wickedness. Before Soochow surrendered certain

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Taiping chiefs had been promised their lives, and to that promise Gordon was a party. After the surrender they were perfidiously executed. Thereon Gordon gave up his command and left the force. He was requested by the Emperor to accept a medal and a large honorarium, but he refused. He was afterwards induced by the British authorities for the sake of the public interest to resume the command. After brilliant though bloody operations he broke the back of the rebellion and in June, 1864, his small disciplined force was disbanded. The Imperialists in their unwisdom were in a hurry to dispense with the foreign element, and so to finish the campaign themselves. Sir William Butler writes regarding Gordon's force: "Out of one hundred and thirty foreign officers thirty-five had been killed and seventy-three wounded; among four thousand Chinese soldiers five hundred and twenty had been killed and nine hundred and twenty wounded. Few heavier losses proportionate to strength can be found recorded in any similar war." The concluding act of this drama was the taking of Nanking, which had all along been the headquarters of the rebellion. The "Heavenly King," the prime mover and the mean creature described in the last Chapter, poisoned himself with gold leaf. "The faithful prince," who had been fighting with his usual vigour, carried off the youthful heir of the mushroom Taiping dynasty on horseback. They were, however, both captured, the boy was beheaded on the spot, and "the faithful prince"

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was detained for a few days to write the story of his life; and when the last line was finished, his execution followed forthwith.

So the Taiping rebellion was ended in 1864, not indeed by the Imperialists with their own ability, but solely through the aid of the Europeans. Without that aid the rebellion would have remained unbroken, with consequences sooner or later fatal to the Manchu dynasty. For at length a really capable and brave leader had arisen among the Taipings in the person of "the faithful prince." He kept his men up to the mark for fighting, and was vastly superior to Li Hung Chang, the Chinese leader, notorious in Chinese history, who was then in the prime of life. Referring to this occasion, Professor Douglas comments with just severity on the opportunism of Li Hung Chang, who rid himself of the disciplined Chinese and of the European officers, knocking down the bridge which carried him over the dangerous torrent, without any regard to the future. The Professor writes: "They (the Chinese) are in this respect like children in whose eyes the present difficulty is the all-absorbing subject. . . . They feel no shame at their defeats. Their national pride covers them as with a garment."

The services of Gordon were of vital consequence to the Empire of China, and brought signal honour to his own country. In 1899 Lord Charles Beresford testifies to the gratitude with which Gordon's memory is cherished by thoughtful Chinese.

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The consequences of the Taiping rebellion even now were not yet over. The scattered rebels, long used to plunder, could not bear to return to honest labour. So under the style of Nienfei they formed themselves into a force and occupied the peninsula of Shantung. Then Li Hung Chang was sent against them, and after some reverses and failures on his own side he effected their reduction.

Thus ended the great rebellion which had lasted for fourteen years, 1850 to 1864, and which but for the aid from the British people would probably have led to a complete revolution. It may be said that but for the complications with Britain between 1856 and 1860 the Chinese Emperor's Government might have put down the rebellion unaided. It is impossible to decide this speculative question. At all events, if Britain at one stage embarrassed the Chinese Emperor, then British people more than redressed the balance by the help they rendered at the final stage. The sadly unfavourable inferences to be drawn from this rebellion in respect to China have been mentioned in the last Chapter. Suffice it here to add that scarcely ever in any history has there been a rebellion so unreasonable, so unintelligible as this. As the Chinese never dreamt of setting up a republic, then disloyalty to the Emperor, who is to them the heaven-born, and the head of their national religion, is almost unaccountable, as there was no descendant of former dynasties, no princely successor in the field. That there was some disloyalty some-

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where is morally certain. Perhaps one reason, among other reasons, for it may have been the growing influence of European traders and European Missionaries during the last two Imperial reigns. The unopposed prevalence of mob rule, senseless, licentious, rapacious, may have led many to doubt whether the Chinese culture, polity and civilisation, so highly vaunted by historians and so well handed down from antiquity as to be ineffaceable in human memory, had ever really existed. That it did exist to some extent is proved by the fact that even after this rebellion the Imperial constitution was maintained for a while till it had to bear the shock of more calamities, before the catastrophe arrived, as will be seen hereafter.

But the calamities of this time, 1860 to 1870, large as they were, did not end here, for all the while the two Muhammadan rebellions, as they are called in history, were raging in the western provinces of Shensi and Kansuh and in the south-western province of Yunnan. The Great Plateau beyond these provinces and beyond the mountains had for some years been wholly lost to the Empire. Thus it requires a moment's reflection in order to measure the desperate position to which the Chinese Empire had been reduced at the time of the Emperor Tungchih's accession. The Yang-tsze-Kiang valley was disturbed by the Taipings up to 1865 at least. The Cantonese region was in disorder near to anarchy. The Shantung province was threatened by rebels. The west

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and south-west provinces were overrun with insurgents. It is hard to say what remained to the Emperor and to the Imperialist cause except the country around Peking, that is, the valley of the Peiho, the delta of the Hoang Ho, the districts immediately around some of the Treaty Ports and the dependency of Manchuria. The Imperial Treasury must have been in a low condition, depending mainly on the sea customs, but wanting in any revenue from the Provinces. At first sight it would be hard to imagine how the finances of the Empire were carried on at that time, but for the remembrance that the local authorities would get on without pay under the Chinese system, as they paid themselves by exactions from the people. Still, the Chinese Government, with amazing tenacity, struggled on, despite the accumulation of misfortune.

In Yunnan the Muhammadans were very numerous, and they had been more or less in insurrection all through the preceding reign, that of Hsienfeng. They were called Panthays and had grievances against the Chinese of the province, which were unredressed by the local authorities, and their cause was conducted under skilful leaders. The rebellion was marked by shocking barbarities, by massacres sometimes amounting to extermination. At one time the Imperialists had lost the whole of this large Province except its capital at Talifoo. At length the country was reduced to submission, and then Talifoo was recaptured by the year 1873. The

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desolation of whole tracts of country, by the holocausts of human life, has lasted through a whole generation, and the vestiges of it are far from being obliterated even yet.

Meanwhile almost contemporaneously with the rebellion of the Panthays in Yunnan, the Tungani Muhammadans of the neighbouring provinces of Shensi and Kansuh were in revolt for much the same cause, namely, unredressed wrongs on the part of their Chinese fellow-subjects. The formidable consequence was that the movement spread to the Tunganis on the Great Plateau and this destroyed for a while the Chinese domination in those vast highlands. The rebellion in Shensi and Kansuh, which lay on the eastern or Chinese side of the mountains flanking the Great Plateau, was suppressed within the reign of Tungchih. But it continued beyond the mountains and throughout the Plateau. Thus the youthful Emperor did see his authority reasserted in all the eighteen Provinces of China, the Great Plateau alone remaining to be recaptured. This recapture proved to be a task bequeathed to the succeeding reign.

About the year 1870 the affairs relating to European commerce were proceeding fairly well, and the country was quiet internally save for one very grave affair at Tientsin. There a shocking attack was made on a religious settlement of French Roman Catholics, with some bloodshed. Herein much remissness was shewn by the local authorities.

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Prince Kung, who was still at the head of affairs, behaved well; the mischief was stopped, an indemnity was paid, and a special envoy was sent to France to convey apologies.

In 1872 the Emperor Tungchih attained his sixteenth birthday and was married, the bride being a Manchu lady of suitable rank, specially selected by the two Dowager Empresses, and named Ahluta. His wedding was celebrated pompously at an enormous cost, which might have been justified in the palmy days long past, but which was out of place in an Empire only just out of the throes of several convulsions. He then assumed the Government; the two Dowager Empresses retired within their apartments. The Foreign Envoys demanded the audience of the Emperor which had been often refused and delayed; but this time it was granted with full ceremony. Prince Kung remained as Prime Minister to his young nephew. The nephew was headstrong and impetuous; the uncle gave sage but positive advice. Thereon the Emperor issued a decree dismissing Kung and his son from their offices. This was indeed a grave step; but on the following day the two Empresses issued a decree, which reinstated both father and son, and which was accepted and acted on by the Government. This illustrates the mechanism of a Constitution which had been and was yet further to be tried most sorely. Further it shows that there must have been a severe dissension between the young Emperor and his mother.

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Shortly after this the Emperor was announced to be sick of the smallpox, and, whatever may have been the cause, he died in January, 1875, in his palace at the age of nineteen years. The constitutional position for Prince Kung and the two Dowager Empresses was difficult. The widowed Empress Ahluta was known to be pregnant, and until her child should be born, no arrangement for filling the Throne could lawfully be made. If the child should be a boy he would be proclaimed Emperor and his mother Ahluta would be the Empress-Regent, displacing the two Dowager Empresses who had ruled now for fifteen years. Shortly afterwards Ahluta sickened and died in the palace with her child unborn. The vacancy in the Throne was filled up by direction of Kung, and the two Dowager Empresses resumed, after a short intermission, so to speak, their regency which they had held for many years, and which they would now hold for many years more in the event of their selecting a child, which they actually did. Under these circumstances the deaths of Tungchih and his wife in the very flower of their age, one after the other with but a short interval, would excite suspicion in the mind of any one acquainted with Oriental affairs. But in reference to such troublous times as these there would be no need to dwell on the case were it not for the suspicions openly uttered by the Chinese society of the day as to poison having been employed.* The

* Boulger, III. 710.

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suspicion thus entertained by the Chinese themselves was the darkest imaginable; for it amounted to this, that a mother would murder her own son, a lad of nineteen, because he refused to be kept in apron-strings. This is really a thought at which humanity should shudder; yet there seemed to be no such shuddering in public opinion at Peking. Even if Tungchih died a natural death, it is impossible to silence the worst misgivings in respect to the death of Ahluta, whose brief but romantic career is remembered with sadness by all students of Chinese history. The Dowager Empresses waited not for a moment to see whether her coming child would prove a boy. No sooner had the Emperor expired than they, at the dead of night, chose a child from another branch of the family, sent for him from his bed and did homage to him then and there.* Now these crimes, if really committed, were not only most heinous but unnatural in the eyes of humanity. Yet these suspicions, not whispered but bruited abroad, believed by many, and rarely if at all contradicted, do not appear to have weakened any prestige or popularity which these Imperial ladies enjoyed. And if—which God forbid—they were guilty, it is hard to understand how Prince Kung could have been guiltless. Yet his personal influence remained apparently unabated with the Chinese public. These circumstances cast a search-light on the sinking ship of China.

* Boulger, III. 711.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR KWANGHSU, 1875–1899.

WHEN in the beginning of 1875 the young Emperor "became a guest on high," and three months afterwards was followed to the tomb by his young Empress, it devolved on the two Dowager Empresses to chose a successor, although there were two Imperial Princes available, one being the redoubtable Prince Kung himself, already mentioned as the best, and as the only first-rate man in China, although, as has just been said, a terrific suspicion hung over a part of his conduct. He, if chosen, would have been a real Emperor, and that would not have suited the two Dowagers. He had a son, however, who was well grown up and was a candidate for the succession. But then that would have necessitated the retirement of Prince Kung from the Ministry, and the Dowagers did not wish to lose him as Minister. They did not care to have his son, however, even without the father, because, being grown up, the young man, with the indirect support of the father, might prove to be a real Emperor. So they chose a child of four years old, the son of another Prince Imperial, and proclaimed him Emperor under the title of Kwanghsu.

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Heretofore, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the summary of each reign has been the record of a step downwards for the Chinese Empire, each step going further than the last towards the depth. But now the new reign begins with a yet deeper step. The preceding reign began with the choice of a little boy Emperor, to be under the governance of two Dowager Empresses checking each other, partly controlled by, and partly controlling, a Council; and this too under circumstances requiring the strongest individuality for ruling. It had worked badly enough, and was redeemed from utter failure only by the conduct of a few eminent persons. It had ended when the young Emperor came of age, but it ceased only for one year, after which he died most prematurely. Thereon the same experiment is repeated, with a new child Emperor and a long minority under the same two Dowager Empresses. The settlement of this supreme affair appears to have rested entirely with these two Imperial Ladies, notwithstanding that responsible and experienced Princes of the blood were present. The responsibility would now be divided between the two Imperial Ladies and the Council. With this poor equipment the Chinese Imperial authority was once more to start in its contest with national dangers.

The beginning of the reign was bad in the extreme, for it was darkly marked by the murder of Mr. Margary, an accomplished officer of the British Consular service, who had been sent from Shanghai to meet

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a British commercial expedition despatched to Yunnan by the Government of India. The expedition had been sent under arrangements with the Chinese Imperial Government. The crime was committed on the Chinese side of the border, and was supported by a Chinese force that drove back the expedition. When the British Minister at Peking, Sir Thomas Wade, demanded reparation, after infinite delay and evasion on the part of the Chinese Government, or Tsung-li-yamen, a futile and worthless enquiry was made which produced no other result than this, that the British Minister was convinced that the director of the murder was none less than the provincial governor of Yunnan. Sir Thomas Wade was so displeased at this affair that he hauled down his flag as Minister, and proceeded to Shanghai.

This strong step, though it failed to bring to punishment the provincial governor whom the Tsung-li-yamen were resolved to shelter, did yet bring about two good things. Firstly a Convention was settled at Chefoo in 1876—in reference to the affairs of Yunnan, to transit duties on inland trade, to jurisdiction in cases between British and Chinese subjects. Thereon a Chinese Minister was despatched to the Queen's Court in London.

The Chefoo Convention is the last of the three commercial Treaties, the other two being those of Nanking and Tientsin, and the Convention of Peking having been merely a supplement to the Treaty of Tientsin. These Treaties are to this day

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constantly referred to by those who are suffering wrong. This, then, is perhaps the place for remarking that the Chinese have never thought of acting up to engagements of this nature. Evasions, delays, breaches, have been always quite normal. In general the existence of the engagement has been ignored. If transit dues had been prohibited they would neverthless be levied. If the payment of one duty was to secure exemption from other duties, they would nevertheless be imposed. It is only by strenuous action that the diplomatic representative can secure anything like observance.

Next in northern China there occurred one of the worst famines ever known even in Chinese territories where such visitations have always been frequent. It is to be noticed that the effect of the remedial measures, adopted properly enough by the Government, was much injured by the dishonesty of local officials. Peculation of this sort was regarded as normal, but in this case it was inhuman as well as disgraceful.

In this affair a British steam navigation company was of great service in the transport of grain to the distressed districts. But the local roads were as bad as ever, and this palpable defect caused a short railway to be constructed by way of a trial from Shanghai to the coast, and at once became popular with the common people. The educated classes offered much opposition by devices which it would be tedious to recount, and soon the line was broken up and the rails

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were sent to the Island of Formosa to rust away there.

Soon another outbreak occurred in Korea, wherein China and Japan after their peculiar manner interfered simultaneously, without, however, coming to blows. It was after this affair that a secret report was made to the principal Chinese Minister, then Li Hung Chang, warning him, in reference to the growing organisation of the Japanese army and navy, that it was "the duty of our Empire to check in time the threatening evil from Japan and to establish definitely the supremacy over its neighbour." Li Hung Chang acknowledged the expediency of strengthening all the Chinese defences, but deprecated any attempt to trouble Japan.

Meanwhile some warlike affairs had been proceeding on the Western extremities of the Great Plateau beyond the Chinese mountains, namely, Yarkand and Kashgaria. All this region had belonged to the Empire in the great days of old, but had for some time been in the independent possession of Moslem chiefs who seemed to be so far settled in their position, that the British Government had sent from India a European Envoy to treat with them. In 1871 the adjoining province of Ili, with its capital at Kuldja, also within the Chinese dominion, but conterminous with the Russian dominions, had become so disturbed that the Czar's Government in 1871 had temporarily occupied it with Russian troops. But from the beginning of the young Em-

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peror Kwanghsu's reign the Regency, that is, the two Dowager Empresses and Prince Kung, resolved to recover their own in this quarter. So forces composed of really brave and enduring soldiers, under able and enterprising officers, with arms not wholly primitive, with artillery capable of breaching fortifications, were sent from China across the mountains into Mongolia. Thus they crossed deserts with oases at rare intervals, ascended and descended the stiff ranges which diversify the great uplands. They braved many severe vicissitudes of climate, enduring extreme cold with frost and snow for many weeks consecutively. Their campaigns were protracted from season to season for several years. They must have suffered often hunger as well as hardship from want of supplies in districts most thinly inhabited, and that too by a hostile population. But they found oases or comparatively fertile valleys and other cultivable spots. So, then, soldiers became cultivators for the nonce, sowed seed in the autumn, tided somehow through the winter, reaped the crops in the returning spring or summer, and then marched on with the fresh supplies thus obtained. These peculiar operations were prosecuted through two years, and certainly redound to the honour of the Chinese forces then employed. The Chinese wreaked a not unnatural revenge on tribes who had slaughtered their countrymen some years previously in Ili. They met with considerable resistance from these tribes, who were brave as well

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as cruel. Their narratives abound in striking episodes and stirring adventures. Whether they had much of real warfare or not, they had some fighting. Their artillery was repeatedly brought into play and made several broad breaches in mountain forts. They stormed these breaches on several occasions with at least some loss of life. Sometimes they were repulsed, at other times they were beaten away from positions they had gained. At all events they made good their advance over vast distances in an inhospitable country, not only with sturdy infantry but with armament and munitions, and with considerable bodies of Tartar cavalry (somewhat resembling Cossacks), notwithstanding the difficulty there must have been in finding forage. Thus leaving no tribe unsubdued behind them, they went straight for those whom they regarded as the Moslem rebels in Yarkand and Kashgaria. The resistance they met with was never really serious and sometimes little more than nominal, much less than might have been expected from the Moslem chief, Yakoob Beg, who met his death in some way never known for certain. Having re-established Chinese authority to the western extremity of the old Empire, the Commanders turned their thoughts to the recovery of Ili, then in Russian occupation.

With this view a Chinese Minister Plenipotentiary was for the first time in history sent to St. Petersburg. He, after due negotiation, had to be content with a partial retrocession of the Ili territory. But the Regency

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at Peking refused to ratify this, and sent another Minister to St. Petersburg, who succeeded in recovering almost the whole. The treaty by which this remarkable transaction was concluded runs thus, Article I.: "His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias consents to the re-establishment of the Chinese Government in the country of Ili which has been temporarily occupied since 1871 by the Russian forces. Russia remains in possession of the western part of that country within the limits indicated by Article VII. of the present treaty."

Afterwards there follows the Article VII. in this wise: "The western part of Ili is incorporated with Russia to serve as a place for the establishment of the inhabitants of that country who adopt Russian nationality." By a Protocol referring to Article VI. of the Treaty the Chinese Government agreed to pay the equivalent of 9,000,000 roubles in pounds sterling, viz., £1,431,664, to bankers in London for the Czar, to meet the expenses of the occupation of Ili by Russian troops since 1871. It is noteworthy that the preamble to the Treaty begins thus: "His Majesty the Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias and His Majesty the Emperor of China, being desirous of settling certain frontier questions concerning the interests of both Empires, and of drawing closer the friendly relations between the two countries, have named their Plenipotentiaries in order to arrive at an understanding on these questions."

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These proceedings, together with the attitude of Russia, and the titles accorded to the Chinese Emperor, prove the consideration which China still possessed in 1881. It is to be remembered that they followed upon arduous campaigns conducted against Mongolian regions and extended over several years, in a manner reflecting honour on Chinese Generals, Officers and soldiers.

These events are the only rays, perhaps they may prove to be the parting gleams, of sunshine that have been shed over the fortunes of China in recent times.

The foregoing Chapters have comprised so continuous a narrative of failure and decline, that it may be well at this point to pause for a moment to note what can be said in favour of China. With this view some quotations may be made from the History by Demetrius Boulger, whose tone is always generous and sympathetic towards the Chinese Empire.

Referring to the events just mentioned, he writes: "It is not without an obvious appropriateness that the close of the great work successfully accomplished during two minorities should be followed by the disappearance of the most important of the personages who had taken the leading part throughout these twenty years of constant war and diplomatic excitement. Before the Peking world knew of her illness, it heard of the death of the Dowager Empress Tsi An, who as Hsienfeng's widow had enjoyed the premier place in the Government. . . . She was

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only forty-five, and evidently a woman of firm character and frugal habits. The death of the Eastern Empress, as she was called, did not make any apparent change in the government of the Empire. Her colleague Tsi Hsi remained in power with Prince Kung as chief adviser. . . . She (that is Tsi An), before her death, had witnessed the accomplishment of everything declared to be necessary when she first assumed the responsibility of government. She had restored the credit and the power of a sinking Empire, and when she quitted this mortal scene she left China as great, as famous and as prosperous as it had ever been before."

Opinions may indeed differ whether the Empress or the Empire, or the peculiar kind of Regency, or the administrative results, at all deserve this encomium. The unrefuted suspicions which in one grave case attached to both these Imperial ladies ought not to be overlooked. Still, after all our dispraise, it is well to hear the praise which is given by so well-informed a historian as Mr. Boulger.

Again, when concluding his History in 1884, he writes: "We leave China and her people at a critical moment in their existence. They have accomplished many remarkable triumphs. They have survived the storms of a protracted foreign war and an ignominious treaty of peace. They have put down civil rebellion throughout the land, and the triumph of authority was achieved only when the province had been made utterly desolate. . . . They

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have reconquered their most remote dependencies. . . . Agriculture is fast absorbing the spots left barren by war and pestilence. . . . The highways are gradually being repaired. . . . When Kwanghsu assumes the reins of Government in the winter of 1887–8, it is probable that he will acquire the possession of a throne which is the most ancient in the world, and which is firmly established in the hearts and affections of a people who are the most self-contained, the most retentive of their possessions, and the most intensely national and patriotic of whom history preserveth the record."

It is indeed easy to read between these lines of the historian, generous and appreciative as they are. Doubtless some proof would be adduced for every word in them. Nevertheless the Empire had done so many things amiss, had left so many needful things undone, as to neutralise the effect of all this hopeful commendation. With the historian the glamour of a woudrous past may easily affect his imagination regarding the present. The spell of the historic ages is upon him to make the immediate future appear as a bright mirage. Even if all these favourable points were accepted, still there were other tendencies pointing in an opposite direction, and there was really reason for the gravest foreboding. Yet in justice to China, these quotations are made here in order that her waning reputation may have the benefit of them. On the other hand, there must have been even at that time, 1884, some or many well-

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informed persons who would say that despite the remains of external magnificence the Chinese polity was unsound to the very core.

If the campaigns on the Great Plateau may be regarded as sunshine bursting through the clouds late in the afternoon, then fresh clouds began immediately to rise from the horizon and obscure the sunset.

France had long established herself at Saigon on the delta of the river Mekhong in what may be called the Peninsula of Cochin China. Some years before this time, 1881 to 1884, the French had seized the idea of a colonial empire in that quarter. Adjoining their position on the lower Mekhong, though separated by ranges of hills, was the Native State of Annam, a feudatory of China, and lying along the Gulf of Tonking (Tonquin) close to the southern frontier of China proper. The French encroached on the Chief of Annam, who thereon appealed to his Suzerain the Emperor at Peking. To avoid a conflict the Chinese Government agreed to cede to France a slice of Annam and certain forts therein, also to withdraw their Chinese forces from both Annam and Tonking. In return for this large concession the French merely agreed to respect and protect the southern frontier of China, that is, the southern border of the Chinese province of Kwantung. Owing to a misunderstanding about the dates on which the forts were to be given up, the Chinese troops resisted effectually the incoming French troops, and thus war began all round. The hostili-

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ties resulted in Annam and Tonking with the best part of the Gulf being added to the French Empire. In this war there was a most melancholy episode. The Island of Formosa, then Chinese, is not far from the Tonking Gulf. The French naval force attacked this island in vain, and then steamed across the strait to the opposite mainland of China, which is the province of Fuhkien, and took up a position at Foochow near the mouth of the Min River. Here lay a fleet of Chinese warships, and they were required to surrender. They not unnaturally refused, though they ought to have known that resistance was hopeless. On their refusal they were nearly all sunk within a few minutes by the French fire, and their sailors were either drowning or swimming about. Now these sailors were men of Kwantung, there was a feud between the provinces of Kwantung and Fuhkien, and this was a Fuhkien shore. So the swimming sailors were either stopped by their Chinese fellow-countrymen from landing or were killed if they did get a footing on the shore. This story sheds a strange light on the allegations often made regarding Chinese patriotism and national cohesion.

Then in 1887 the young Emperor Kwanghsu received charge of the State nominally from the remaining Dowager Empress Tzashi, or Tsi Hsi, but remained under her guidance till 1889. He was enthroned and married with a pompous ceremony suitable enough for the golden age of his august

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predecessors, but out of keeping with his own altered circumstances. He began his reign with exemplary industry and frugality, but none can say whether he exercised any influence. All the old difficulties about the reception of European Ministers and Envoys were now swept away and he received them handsomely.

But as his minority had begun badly, so did his active reign, for Christian Missionaries were once more atrociously maltreated in several parts of China. This fresh outbreak is attributed by some to the establishment of a mathematical college at Peking, a measure hateful to the Chinese *literati*. Be the origin what it may, a crusade of infamous libel against the Christians was undertaken, charges incredibly monstrous were circulated by illustrated placards, an infuriated mob wrecked Churches and Missionary establishments, killing some Europeans also. The conduct of the Chinese Government when called to account was utterly evasive. Some pecuniary compensation was granted, but the man who issued the placards and stirred the mobs was well known, was convicted on enquiry, and was left unpunished. The trouble was stayed only by a well-worded Edict from the Emperor himself. Later on, however, in 1895, a still worse onslaught was made on the English Missionaries in Fuhkien by a local body calling themselves Vegetarians.

All through the reign right up to the time which we have reached, 1895, the external defences of the

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Empire had received attention, the earnestness of which was attested by largeness of expenditure; but it was directed with irregularity and without any competent intelligence. A Board of Admiralty under an Imperial Prince was established, and for a while a British naval Officer was employed. European-made battleships and cruisers were purchased, and some really good Chinamen were employed. But the iron-protected fleet was not kept up to date in respect of speed, a failure which afterwards proved fatal. The defensive arrangements were mainly and rightly concentrated on the Pechihlee Gulf, namely, the Chinese waters leading up towards Peking. Two great naval stations were here set up, and duly fortified; of which more will be said hereafter. The condition of the Army was investigated, and found to be ludicrously antiquated with an inefficiency baffling description. But nothing was done to improve, much less to reform it. Brave and enduring soldiers still remained to the Empire, but they were mostly stationed on the remote frontiers in Mongolian regions.

Thus we approach the catastrophe to be described in the next Chapter.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

WAR BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN, 1894–1896.

In the foregoing Chapters there has been presented a retrospect of the course of the Chinese Empire from the first to the last decade of the nineteenth century. During that time the huge, cumbrous and disjointed fabric somehow has hung together despite grievous wounds from without, desperate disorders within, incompetency in the Imperial power, corruption in the whole administration, opposition to all reform, utter neglect of the forces by sea and land. The battered constitution, after suffering nearly all imaginable evils, has been spared only one, namely, a disputed succession. But now some special notice must be given to a series of events which will probably prove to have been the beginning of the end for the Chinese Empire. If this be so, then they are invested with supreme importance respecting the fate of the Far East. These events are comprised in the War with Japan in 1894 and 1895.

This war related to Korea, a large promontory and an offshoot from the province of Manchuria, which province is a very integral part of the Chinese Empire, especially under a Manchu dynasty.

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Thus Korea might be considered geographically as an outlying part of China. In settling the bounds of their vast Empire, the Emperors in their palmy days might naturally enough have included Korea, a comparatively small State, with an area of 82,000 square miles, and a population of about ten millions of souls. In fact, however, Korea generally if not quite always remained independent, that is, having internal autonomy. But feeling itself unable to stand quite alone, and being situate between two neighbours, Japan on the east, and China on the west, it sought the favour of both in an opportunist way. It had declared itself a feudatory sometimes of the one and sometimes of the other, sometimes also of both together. It had on several occasions been the subject of contention between China and Japan, and had been partially occupied by the troops of both Powers. Manifestly China had a territorial interest in Korea as an arm outstretched from the Manchu mainland, and lying on the Pechihlee waters which run right up to the shores of the Peking territory. It is not clear that Japan had any equal interest in Korea, which was separated by a strait of sea from the Japanese islands. Had China been a growing and formidable Power or had there been any outlet for Japanese trade in that direction, then Japan might have had a vital objection to a Chinese occupation of Korea. But China was, as compared with the newly organised Japan, a contemptible power, and the mercantile interests of Japan in

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Korea were slight. But whether Japan had or had not in Korea any interests worth fighting for, she had many old associations with that country, also various political relations and obligations with it, and she would not, or thought she could not, brook any exclusive control by China in that quarter. It should also have been remembered that the weakness of Korea was due to the really wicked incursions of Japan in the sixteenth century.

Under this condition of affairs Korea had more than once in quite recent times behaved in a manner calculated to draw the two rival protecting Powers into conflict. In 1882 domestic troubles in that country had brought both Chinese and Japanese forces into the field, and a contest for supremacy was with some difficulty staved off. In 1884 still graver troubles arose with the same question as between Japan and China. A conflict was, however, averted and a convention signed, of which one clause ran thus: "In case of any disturbance of a grave nature occurring in Korea which may oblige the respective countries or either of them to send troops to Korea, it is hereby understood that they shall give each to the other previous notice in writing of their intention so to do, and after the matter is settled they shall withdraw their troops and not further station them in the country." This convention seemed simple enough, but it was big with the fate of China. Previous to this the Chinese had taken alarm at the military system which was being intro-

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duced into Japan, and were becoming at last conscious of their own shortcomings. Professor Douglas alludes to "the miserable figure which the Chinese forces cut in their late encounter with Japan. . . . For years the Japanese had been organising their army on the European model, and had armed their troops with the newest weapons invented at Elswick and by Krupp; while the Chinese, with the exception of a small body enlisted by Li, were still trusting in their bows and arrows and in the scarcely more effective gingalls." As her hopeless inferiority to Japan in the quality of the forces and of the armaments was fully appreciated in China, the rashness of the Chinese Emperor, or of his Government, was extreme in provoking a war which might have easily been avoided, and in almost staking the Empire itself on the issue of the perilous game.

In 1894 a body of rebels in Korea rose, first against the Roman Catholic Missionaries, and then against the King, who thereon appealed to Peking for help. The Chinese Government landed troops in Korea without giving notice to Japan as provided by the convention cited above. The Japanese Government, affirming this to be a breach of international agreement, at once sent an army corps to Korea. The two forces, however, remained facing each other without fighting. The Chinese insisted that any future reforms in Korean administration should be left to them. To these and some other demands the Japanese gave compliant or conciliatory

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answers, but warned the Chinese that any further importation of their troops, contrary to the convention, would be treated as an act of war. To this the Chinese gave some apparently satisfactory replies. The Japanese diplomatically regarded these as sufficient assurances; and had China been so minded, this critical affair might well have ended there.

It so fell out, however, that the Japanese Government sent three cruisers to the Pechihlee Gulf to make sure whether the Chinese were, in accordance with the convention and with their assurances, abstaining from the despatch of troops to Korea. The cruisers then found that, so far from abstaining, the Chinese were at that moment sending a transport ship full of troops escorted by two cruisers straight for the Korean coast. The Chinese were thus caught in the very act of breaking faith. A naval action at once ensued; one of the Chinese cruisers was disabled and the other escaped, while the transport was sunk with nearly all on board of her. With this act then, due entirely to the utter fault of the Chinese, the war began.

Herein the conduct of China as a civilised power may seem at first sight unintelligible. In fact China in these respects was not a civilised power. British experience has shown that she regarded Treaties as the merest of temporary expedients, and sometimes signed them with the intention of breaking them forthwith.

Both sides poured troops into Korea, and the

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Chinese massed much force round Pingyang, a strong position which might, if bravely held, have baffled the Japanese. But the Chinese Generals proved to be cowards and ignorant of war. So they marched away on the Japanese approach. There was one brave and competent commander on the Chinese side named Tso, and he died together with some picked troops at the post of duty. The Japanese pursued the flying Chinese, thus clearing Korea as far as the river Yalu which separates that country from Manchuria.

The Yalu runs into the Pechihlee Gulf. At its mouth there arrived a strong Chinese force escorted by twelve warships under the command of Admiral Ting, the best man, probably one of the few good men, in the Chinese navy. Just then a Japanese squadron, also of twelve ships, hove in sight. In the engagement which ensued both sides fought well; but the Chinese were outmanœuvred, as the Japanese had a clear advantage in speed. Five of the Chinese ships were sunk, and the remaining seven being beaten, escaped, as the Japanese, though victorious, were so battered as to be unfit for pursuit.

The Japanese General was now free to overrun southern Manchuria. In that quarter a promontory runs out into the Pechihlee Gulf named the Liaotung Peninsula. On the south-west extremity of that there were the fortified naval station of Port Arthur and the commercial port of Talienwan, near each other. The Japanese made straight for these,

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taking some lesser places on the way without any difficulty whatever. The season was wintry, the ground frost-bound or snow-clad, and the roadway very steep towards the end, but they proceeded circumspectly with excellent arrangements for transport and supply. At Port Arthur, if anywhere, the Chinese were bound to make a resolute stand. Though not the first place in importance of their whole Empire, it was clearly the second. It faced the mouth of the Peiho River and commanded the approach from the Pechihlee Gulf to the capital. It had been well fortified after the European model, and powerfully armed with guns of European manufacture. The Chinese Ministers hoped that it would prove impregnable, but they forgot that armament is valueless unless the gunners will fight their guns, and breastworks useless unless there are stout hearts behind them under commanders versed in modern warfare. The conduct of the garrison was dastardly, and the Japanese took the place, after the very minimum of resistance. This was quite a cutting blow even to impassive and insensitive China. The only chance for the Chinese Emperor was instantly to send a plenipotentiary to treat for peace before the victors should inflict some fresh loss on their foe. But instead of doing this the Emperor despatched some agents without full powers who were promptly sent back. This dilatory process, quite characteristic of Chinese policy, cost him dear. Having occupied Port Arthur, the Japanese with their fleet and trans-

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ports crossed the Pechihlee Gulf, and made for the Shantung Peninsula, which forms the eastern extremity of the Gulf. On the north side of this peninsula was Wei-hai-Wei, commanding the entrance to the Gulf by sea. This was both a military position and a naval station of the first rank. There were a large harbour, a citadel and surrounding heights, all held by troops. Admiral Ting and the remnant of the navy were there. The place had been well fortified all round and with an armament like that of Port Arthur. It was the first and most important place in the Empire and the last stronghold. In Ting's presence it would not indeed be tamely or ineffectually defended. But it was soon lost in a manner characteristic of the Chinese. The citadel was indeed protected by the ships. But round the harbour were the heights, fortified and powerfully armed. Having by this time fully perceived that his countrymen would not fight on land, Ting foresaw that these heights would be stormed by the Japanese easily enough, and that then the heavy guns belonging to these very heights would be turned with every advantage against the ships and the citadel. He then proposed to the commanders of the land forces that these heights should be dismantled and disarmed, so that they should not be made to serve as vantage-grounds to the enemy for assailing and capturing the harbour. The commanders refused, and very soon events occurred exactly as Ting had foreseen. Capturing the heights, the enemy turned the Chinese

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guns on the Chinese ships. Ting made such fight as he could against impossible odds, and as he could not break away in the face of the Japanese fleet, he obtained terms securing the lives and freedom of his sailors, surrendered the post, and then, together with his two principal officers, committed suicide, leaving behind him a memory respected by Europeans, a circumstance rare in Chinese history.

The cup of disaster was now full for the Chinese, owing to their own cowardice and incapacity. The position of the Emperor was desperate, for there was nothing to prevent the Japanese from marching on Peking, just as the Anglo-French force had done in 1860. He presumably would have fled to the hunting palace in the Mongolian hills, as his Imperial ancestor had done at that time. The Japanese commander might then have made himself comfortable in the Chinese capital, governing unopposed the surrounding country and awaiting the dismemberment of the Chinese Empire.

It is by comparison only that the proportions of these calamities can be appreciated. The loss of Port Arthur and Wei-hai-Wei was to China what the loss of Portsmouth and Chatham would be to England, of Cherbourg and Toulon to France, of Kiel and Wilhelmshafen to Germany.

Thus the Emperor was obliged to sue for peace without delay, and to send a plenipotentiary to Japan for arranging the terms, and Li Hung Chang was selected for this duty. Even then, however, a

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slight delay occurred from a cause which must be noticed. The Emperor naturally foresaw that the Japanese would make demands for cession of territory. If such demands should be confined to some of the Chinese islands they could be endured, but they might include the Liaotung Peninsula and a part of Manchuria, and then they would be unendurable to Chinese pride. This territory was not indeed a part of the eighteen historic provinces of China, but it was the home of the Manchu dynasty, then sovereigns in China, and it was in proximity to Peking the capital. In order to avert this misfortune as yet unprecedented, the Emperor with his advisers resorted to a perilous device. He appealed in some confidential way to Europe, or at least he sounded some of the European Powers to support him in resisting any Japanese demand for the cession of the Liaotung Peninsula. There is no need now to consider which of the European Powers was thus appealed to; but happily it could not have been Britain. No such support was, however, obtained at that time. So Li Hung Chang proceeded on his mission to Japan. In due course the terms were agreed to, including a large indemnity, the cession not only of Formosa and other islands, but also of the Liaotung Peninsula with Port Arthur, Japan being then in full military possession of the Peninsula and of the Port. The Emperor, with the most bitter regret no doubt, ratified these terms, which, though humiliating, were not worse than what might

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be expected from the disgraceful circumstances into which China had fallen.

Despite this ratification, however, the Emperor again appealed to some of the European Powers to help him in voiding his engagement to cede the Liaotung Peninsula, and this time with real success. Russia gave a favourable ear to the appeal; indeed, she was disposed even without such appeal to interpose. France, who had entered into a Russian alliance,—for reasons far remote from China !—supported Russia. To the surprise and disappointment of the British, it was seen that Germany joined the other two Powers. But Britain held herself honourably aloof from this affair. The British thought that Japan, having fought and conquered fairly and squarely, was entitled to make her own terms without European interference, which might be the reverse of disinterested. In consequence of the triple pressure from Russia, France and Germany, the Japanese Government agreed to restore its conquest in Liaotung to the Chinese, but held Wei-hai-Wei temporarily in security for the payment of the indemnity.

The war which ended thus was most unfortunate for China in three cardinal respects. It ruined the reputation of China in the eyes of all European Powers, or rather it destroyed whatever remnant of that reputation might be still existing. It showed how China, untrained and undisciplined, with a population of three hundred and fifty millions, was

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beaten down to the very dust in a campaign of a few months by Japan, with a population of only forty-two millions, or one-ninth of the Chinese total, but with training and discipline. For China indeed this was a sorry spectacle to be exhibited before the civilised world. History in all parts of the world and at all times has shown the disadvantage suffered by any nation who, when pressed by foes, invites within its own borders another Power for help, especially if that Power be a superior one. Yet this is what China now did on the largest scale. She had always before her own people spoken of Europeans with a hatred probably sincere, and with a contempt probably more feigned than real. Yet she had often enough accepted the aid of Europeans in moments of difficulty. But that aid had always come from individual Europeans, especially British acting either as individuals, or else in some separate capacity. It had never come, nor had it been invited, from any European Government as such. But now in the strangest contrast with her past policy and her ancient ideas, she obtained aid, in an affair of vital importance, not only from one European Power, but from three European Governments in combination. It were needless now to speculate as to whether she could have foreseen the consequences which must surely ensue from such proceedings, and which will be mentioned in the next Chapter.

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CHAPTER XXX.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE JAPANESE WAR, 1896–1898.

HERETOFORE the acts of the Chinese Government have been mentioned as those of the Emperor on the assumption that he was personally governing in the same manner as his Imperial predecessors had governed. But since the conclusion of the war with Japan there have been doubts whether he is really governing. It has been sometimes reported that he is in low health, and is immured in solitude within the precincts of his Palace, while the Imperial authority is exercised by the Dowager Empress, the same of whom mention has been made in the preceding Chapters. It is difficult for Europeans at a distance to know the truth in these matters; but at all events the Emperor does not show the individuality which his Imperial ancestors showed. All the relations of China with the European Powers are conducted with the Council styled Tsung-li-Yamen, previously mentioned, which is really the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Since 1896, that is, since the war with Japan, the historic Empire of China has descended into darkness. It may have internal autonomy, but for external affairs, for foreign relations, for all those

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things which *par excellence* are the signs of Imperial authority, it has lost even the shreds of self-assertion, even the shadow of self-action. It is near going whither the Empires of Persia and of the Great Mogul have gone before it, and whither the Ottoman Empire is gradually tending. This may sound melancholy to those who picture to themselves what the Empire of China was just before the beginning of the nineteenth century. But it were vain to attempt disguising how sadly the century is ending for that great Imperial Institution.

But this decadence, this sickness unto death, affects only the Empire as an Institution. The territorial dominion, though shorn of some among its most important positions, still remains in its huge mass, however weak may be the bonds that hold its parts together. The vast population, homogeneous in most respects, and having more of homogeneity than any other people of equal size in the world, still survives, however much it may have been thinned by famine and rebellion. The agricultural and the trading activity, the industrial arts, are still prosecuted despite frequent and ravaging desolation in many districts, and corrupt oppression almost everywhere. Though the Chinese Empire has fallen, China and its people have not, and as we hope never will.

In 1896, when the Emperor invoked the aid of some European Powers to obtain from Japan the restoration of the Liaotung Peninsula, he may perhaps

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have surmised that if he did not call them in, they might come in of their own accord with some ulterior views of their own. At all events by thus acting he precipitated the crisis for his own Empire. He gained his momentary end without counting what the cost would be in the immediate future. After the conclusion of peace France demanded that the Chinese Government should make a line to meet the French railway from Tonking. This was not of pressing consequence on China, as it related to an engagement the fulfilment of which at the best would be dilatory. Germany said little at the moment, for she, as it afterwards turned out, was preparing for a spring! But Russia lost no time in making proposals of much consequence to the Chinese Empire and to the Manchu dynasty. She was then planning the construction of a railway from the west right through to eastern Siberia, below which point lies her naval harbour of Vladivostok. She asked leave to carry her line straight to Vladivostok through a part of Manchuria. Why she laid stress on Vladivostok is not clear, because that port has been depreciated as being ice-bound half the year and as gradually silting up. It was probably made a stalking-horse by her for more important demands. She asked leave to carry branches from the Siberian line into Manchuria, first to Moukden, the old Manchu capital, and on to Port Arthur itself or at least to Talienwan, the commercial port close by. The Chinese Government was powerless to resist these

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menacing demands. The prospect of Russia thus coming into contact with the Pechihlee Gulf, right opposite to the Peking territory, naturally aroused the vigilance of other European Powers, especially Britain.

Shortly afterwards Germany took a forward step which, unfortunately for China, was casually provoked by Chinese people. As previously stated the Shantung Peninsula forms the south-eastern extremity of the Pechihlee Gulf. Round its corner and on the coast just to the south lies the harbour of Kiaochow, capable of being made a naval base. In the country just behind this place a German Christian Mission had been established. Just at this time two German Missionaries were murdered by the Chinese. Germany demanded instant reparation; and as a German squadron was close by it steamed into the harbour, and without giving the Chinese Government time to make reparation, demanded a lease of the place, a demand which China was powerless to refuse. This was the most offhand and strong-fisted proceeding that had ever been taken by any European Power in Asia. It soon afterwards appeared that Germany had all along been casting ambitious eyes on this place, and was only awaiting the opportunity, which the murder of the Missionaries afforded, and of which she availed herself with such striking promptitude. The folly of the Chinese local authorities in allowing such a murder as this at such a time is characteristic of China, for

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it is understood that such acts are never committed without the encouragement or at least the permission of the local officials. All Europe looked on this act by Germany at first with surprise, and then with anxious anticipation, lest it should be followed by similar acts on the part of European Powers.

These proceedings on the part of Russia and Germany caused anxiety in Britain lest foreign Powers by occupying or leasing Chinese ports should hamper or interfere with those rights of trade which had been guaranteed to British merchants by several Treaties. Britain declared that she would maintain these rights of hers with all her might, observing, too, that they were not for herself alone but for all other nations equally. Her policy was named by the phrase of "the open door," which has since become proverbial. She kept her fleet in Chinese waters with a strength equal to all contingencies.

Meanwhile the Chinese Government, notwithstanding all the wealth of China, could not find the money wherewith to pay the war indemnity to Japan, in security for which Wei-hai-Wei was still held by Japanese forces. So it applied to the British Government for a loan, which was agreed to. Hearing of this, the Russian Government addressed such remonstrances to Peking that the Chinese Government withdrew its application to Britain for the loan. At the same moment Russia herself tendered a loan, evidently meaning that she was to control Chinese finances and not Britain. But China de-

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clined that also, and this double refusal is characteristic of the Chinese. Soon afterwards, however, Britain arranged this loan in conjunction with Germany, and China acted thereon, notwithstanding the displeasure of Russia.

Soon afterwards it was announced that Russia had obtained a lease of Port Arthur, and this was intended by her to be a decisive step. Her friends in Europe hailed it as rendering her the mistress of the Gulf whose waters led to Peking, and as giving her the naval supremacy of the northern Pacific. So Britain at once protested at St. Petersburg, and the Russian Minister replied that Britain was the only one of the Powers who objected to the Russian policy.* It then remained to be seen what Britain would do; all men everywhere thought that something would be done, though none could guess what. But Britain remained silent for some days, possibly bearing some reproach on that account. In reality she was rapidly collecting a fleet for the Pechihlee Gulf to be an overwhelming display of force in that quarter. This done, it was announced that she had obtained a lease of Wei-hai-Wei, and would occupy the place as soon as it should be evacuated by the Japanese on the payment of the war indemnity due to them. At the same time her powerful squadron anchored at Chefoo close at hand. It was easy for

* See Blue Book of that date, 1897, relating to the interview between the British Ambassador and the Russian Foreign Minister.

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Britain to arrange for the settlement of the unpaid balance of the indemnity. The Japanese Commander made over his charge to the British Admiral, and the place forthwith was reckoned a British station of the first rank. Thus Britain, and not Russia, became the mistress of the Pechihlee Gulf and of the North Pacific.

Then France from her base at Tonking seized a bay close by on the Lienchow peninsula of the Kwantung province.

Next Britain, considering her island position at Hong Kong to be possibly assailable from the mainland opposite, decided to occupy a strip on the coast called the Kowloon extension, regarding which she already had some Treaty rights.

The gravity of these steps, taken first by one Great Power and then by another, caused much discussion as to the future of Chinese commerce. It was seen that each Power was gaining exclusive political influence in one quarter or another of the Chinese Empire. Doubt arose whether any of them would allow free play to the policy of "the open door," as already explained. Then arose the alternative phrase of "the sphere of influence." It was evident that if such spheres were to be recognised, Manchuria would be the Russian sphere, the Shantung Peninsula the German sphere, the neighbourhood of Tonking the French sphere. The question remained as to what would be the British sphere. All well-informed Britons at once answered the Yang-tsze-Kiang

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valley and basin. The British trading centre at Shanghai is near the mouth of the Yang-tsze River, British influence already prevails in the deltaic region, British gunboats can at certain seasons run up the great river for a long distance. Still farther inland on the plateau of Szechuan are stations of British trade. On the other side the Indian Government are constructing a railway from Mandalay in upper Burma to the Chinese frontier in Yunnan, with the view of ultimately tapping the upper basin of the Yang-tsze-Kiang. This, then, is to be the British sphere, if hereafter the Chinese Empire is to be portioned out into spheres. Meanwhile Britain holds fast to the policy and principle of "the open door," is maintaining that entirely as yet, and hopes to maintain it for an indefinite time. Herein she is supported by the unanimous opinion of all her merchants trading in China. But she takes her own precautions in the event of that hope failing. As the first of such precautions she obtained an understanding from China that on no conditions should the valley of the Yang-tsze be alienated to any foreign Power.

Further she arranged with China that so long as British trade is predominant in China the head of the Imperial Chinese Maritime Customs, now Sir Robert Hart, shall be a British-born subject. Hereon Professor Douglas writes: "It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this condition. It is a blow at that corruption which has hitherto made

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progress in China next to impossible, which has prevented the construction of railways, which has hidebound the trade of the country, and which has made the army and navy of the Empire the laughing-stock of the world."

Then came what may be termed the era of railway concessions, and Peking became the theatre of international rivalry in this respect, the Tsung-li-Yamen being beset by formidable or influential applicants.

Russia had less trouble than any other European Powers, because she had already settled her railway lines in Manchuria. But there arose a severe controversy between her and Britain respecting the joint control of the line between Peking or Tientsin and the Manchurian system. Then there was a concession to an Anglo-Italian syndicate for working some extensive coal-fields which might, it was supposed, some day prove useful to Wei-hai-Wei. From Peking a proposed line was to run to Hankow, a most important place on the border of the lower valley of the Yang-tsze. For this much of the surveying and some even of the work have been undertaken. The concession was understood to have been granted to a Franco-Belgian company. If there should be a French element in this project, that would be distasteful to Britain. But there would be no objection if the enterprise be simply a Belgian one. There was fear at one time lest Russia should have a hand in this affair, but that has been allayed. Doubtless Britain will have influence enough at Pe-

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king to prevent any arrangement being made detrimentally to her just interests. Germany will doubtless obtain concessions relating to some line or lines in the "*hinterland*" of Kiaochow. The British project is to carry a line from the mainland opposite Hong Kong and close to Canton right northwards to Shanghai inland, leaving the coast at some distance on its right, that is, to the east, with branches to certain points on the coast. The northern end of this line would reach not only Shanghai, but also Nanking and other trade centres in the lower valley of the Yang-tsze. The French will doubtless be bringing out a project in the south, but their pretensions in that quarter are large and have not advanced much beyond the primary stages of discussion. For many of these various projects no real advance has been effected. For some projects, even the concessions have not been settled, owing to the habits of Chinese delay, the worst of all delays. In many cases the manner whereby the capital may be raised is not known, and thus any discussion is precluded.

The latest statistics of Chinese railways may be taken from the Report of Lord Charles Beresford to the Associated Chambers of Commerce in London in May, 1899. He writes:

"The summary of the railways in the Chinese Empire is as follows:

	Miles.
Built—all Chinese.....	317

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	Miles.
Building—	
Chinese	170
Belgian	700
Russian (that is, from East Siberia through Manchuria)	1,400
Total building	2,270
Projected—surveyed or being surveyed—	
Chinese	97
German	430
British	730
Anglo-American	700
Russo-Chinese	130
French	420
Total under survey	2,507
Projected—unsurveyed—	
Anglo-German	600
British	470
Total unsurveyed	1,070
Total projected	3,577."

Thus the apparent total of railways for China would be 317+2,270+3,577=6,164 miles. This total would represent but a meagre beginning for so huge an Empire as China. But in fact China herself is not taking the lead; on the contrary she is acting as a drag on the railway-system. She regards this system as an area on which the European Powers are to exercise their rival forces for mastery here, there, or everywhere. She dreads lest the opening of railways should, so to speak, "Europeanise" the interior of the country. Otherwise according to the best accounts, the railways, if economically constructed, that is, if money be not wasted in initial

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proceedings such as contests between conflicting syndicates, and so forth, are likely to be used immensely both for passengers and goods, and therefore to prove remunerative.

But although with most of the lines the progress is as slow as Chinese inertia can make it, yet in one quarter there is marked activity, and that is in the region between Peking and Manchuria. It will be remembered that what may be called geographically the Pechihlee Gulf, and politically the Peking water, has a head to it. That consists of a subordinate gulf runnning northwards from Port Arthur and called the Liao gulf. Into the northern end of this runs the River Liao from Manchuria, near the mouth of which stands the Treaty Port of Newchwang. It will be observed that this bay which is on the western side of the Liaotung or Port Arthur peninsula has the disadvantage of being frozen over during a part of the winter, whereas the waters on the eastern side, including the port of Talienwan, are not frozen in winter. Nevertheless Newchwang is a port of great interest to British commercial enterprise which has alone, so to speak, tapped Manchuria, while Russian enterprise has been confined to building railways and to placing troops. Now it is to Newchwang that the British are striving with much success to establishing railway communication from Peking or Tientsin by Shanhaikwan and Kinchau, both on the Liao gulf, partly by English engineers under the Chinese Government, or by

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English capital with Chinese sanction. There has been diplomatic strife between Britain and Russia, but the result seems to be that a British-Chinese line from Tientsin will at Newchwang meet the Russian line from Siberia as it runs through Manchuria. This arrangement would be satisfactory enough to Britain, as her line near the coast and the port of Newchwang are under the protection of her paramount sea-power. But Russia, though as yet not able to prevent this, appears to be far from content. She is understood to be attempting some arrangement with China whereby some line of her own may be taken from her Manchurian line straight to Peking. But as China is resisting, so far as resistance may be possible, and as the intentions of Britain are not known, the question cannot be carried further. Moreover, the British merchants at Newchwang have industrial as well as commercial interests inside Manchuria, and will press their claims as against the military domination of Russia in this piece of Chinese territory. They are also saying that an Open Door at the Treaty Port would be neutralised if the country behind were to be closed by Russian trade-cordons. Hence it is clear that in this corner of China the seeds of dissension between Britain and Russia exist, and that controversies of an acute kind may come on any day.

Meanwhile an important agreement has been signed between Britain and Russia to the effect that the former shall not interfere, and shall do its best

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to prevent its subjects from interfering, with any railway-making in Manchuria, and that the latter shall itself abstain, and cause its subjects to abstain, from railway-making in the whole basin of the Yang-tsze River. Each of the high contracting Powers has handed in a copy of the agreement to the Tsung-li-Yamen at Peking. This agreement touches railways only, but then railway-making is the all-important thing of the immediate future in China. So the affair may prove to be of far-reaching importance, and is hailed by the friends of peace as a happy augury. It is thought by some to foreshadow the coming of spheres of influence, though Britain is still faithful to the principle of "the open door."

These transactions have been summarised, not for the recounting of European prowess and enterprise, but for illustrating the prostrate condition of the Chinese Empire at the close of the nineteenth century. Though there may be regret and sorrow for the Imperial downfall in China, and even sympathy for the Chinese people as distinct from their officials, still it is well for them all from the highest to the lowest that the truth should be told regarding the political conduct of their nation. It is this truth against which they have all, with the fewest exceptions, perversely and stubbornly shut their eyes and closed their ears for some centuries, but in no century so inexcusably as in the nineteenth. In the troublesome waves of this modern world China had been steering or drifting into courses likely to lead

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on to reefs and breakers. At last the end came from the war with Japan, which gave what may be truly called a *coup de grâce*. No big Empire could incur such a disgrace as that and live. Accordingly the Chinese Empire has not lived, and to-day it lies at the disposal of four European Powers—Britain, Russia, France and Germany. Perhaps the United States should be added as a fifth Power, since their acquisition of a position in the Philippine Islands. China has nothing to do but to obey the behests of one or other of the four Powers in each case as it arises. If more than one claim her obedience she will consider which is the strongest, or whether she can play off one against the other. In any event the sole question for her to consider is the form and manner of her acquiescence; for acquiesce she must with some one about something, and no option at all is open to her.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

THE STATE OF CHINA IN 1899.

HAVING now arrived at the conclusion of the narrative, the reader will judge whether the course pursued by China during the nineteenth century can be called progress in the proper sense, or whether it should not rather be called a steady advance in the wrong direction. Of the ten decades indeed she has, during the last seven, that is, from 1830 onwards, been taking step after step almost like giant strides on the road to ruin. In fact the historic Empire of China is in a state of suspended animation, if it be not actually dead. There are no signs of its possible revival or recovery; though none now living can anticipate what the next few years may see. China exists up to the time of writing, say August, 1899, and no writer will venture to state more. So to speak, no political Insurance Office would insure the life of the Chinese Empire for even the shortest time. The only hope springs from the thought that "a sick man politically sometimes lives long."

Up to the end of this century the vast dominion is held together, however weak the links of the administration may be. The people of China proper form

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the largest nationality of common race, of homogeneous character, of uniformity in language, of unity in faith, however composite that religion may be, now to be found in the world, and this too after making deductions for outlying nationalities in the Empire, Mongolians, Manchus, Moslems and others. If the other large nationalities of the world be considered they will each one of them be found to be less in number than the Chinese of China proper. The English-speaking race in the British Isles, the United States and the Colonies may have 130 millions of souls; the Russian race 106 millions (exclusive of Moslems) all speaking Russian; the Hindu people of over 200 millions have a common faith indeed, but have at least three races and speak at least six languages. None of these several masses or aggregates of mankind will bear comparison in multitude with the total of the Chinese of China proper all speaking Chinese, which cannot be less than 300 millions of souls, and may be 350 millions or even more; after deducting all those who live in the outlying regions. These Chinese maintain their old character for industry, both as regards agriculture, industrial productiveness and trade. They have full recuperative capacity for repairing losses of life and property whether from internal disturbances or from calamities such as pestilence and famine. No statistics of population are available, notwithstanding the statistical machinery which has long been supposed to exist. Still the people is believed

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to be prolific, with a tendency to increase on the whole despite all losses. Every European will heartily wish them well, but he will wonder whether so vastly numerous a population as this can be held together much longer by the internal governance of an Empire which has lost all external power, all control over those foreign affairs which cannot but concern vitally the interests of its subjects. No attempt will be here made to answer this large question which cannot indeed be answered by any one. Moreover there may be doubts whether the character of the Chinese is, or can be, fully known to Europeans. For example, the character of the Natives of India may be almost fully known to many Britons. But Britain has governed them for several generations, everything relating to them has been fully disclosed, and many of their most important concerns have been dealt with by British administrators. But the events of the Sepoy Mutinies in 1857 showed that, even with all these unparalleled advantages, the British had up to that date failed to appreciate fully Native sentiment and aspiration. By this analogy it would seem vain to suppose that the British can have any complete understanding of the Chinese character as it now is at the end of the nineteenth century. They have studied the long and complex history, including all recent events; they have enquired into many customs, habits and institutions with most praiseworthy diligence. They have come in contact with the people at many points of prac-

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tical dealing. They have written many books full of observation and erudition, till the works form quite a literature relating to China. But they themselves would not claim a full appreciation of the mental and moral attitude of this vast population, and of its possible movements even in the immediate future. They may have some acquaintance with, often even a painful knowledge of the official classes styled Mandarins. But they can hardly have an insight into the springs which move this civil machinery that is spread like a net encompassing the whole country. Still, there are certain propositions regarding which the authorities of to-day would mostly be agreed.

It may be apprehended that the Chinese for the most part have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. They keep their gaze ever fixed on the venerated past and never turned forwards. They retain their habits and customs, their elaborate culture, their faiths and creeds, according to the standard which has prevailed through ages. What they were in 1800 that they will be in 1900, and the intermediate events which have weakened their body politic, and almost destroyed their polity, will be found to have left their social disposition and their national temper unchanged. To them such occurrences, grave as they may be in the sight of other people, are but superficial. Happen what may in foreign affairs or in the concerns of China with foreigners, the Chinese, they probably think, will remain the same. Such is understood to be their dream from which they

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must ere long be aroused, though none can tell how soon the awakening may come.

The manner in which their culture and their State education, formed and elaborated many centuries ago, has continued with little or no change, is wonderful indeed. It has raised up a class of *literati*, some employed in the public service and others not; that is, the officials who are called Mandarins and the non-officials who are styled *literati* simply. The former have actual power; the latter have influence. These seem to fill in China the place which is filled by the priesthood in many countries. They are themselves intellectual athletes within their limits. They force their mental exercises on the more intelligent portions of their countrymen. They are cramped and confined in their ideas; their knowledge relates to a bygone time, and is often quite defective for the requirements of the present. These men, scattered throughout the country, and influential everywhere, set themselves, as might be expected, resolutely against anything like a new education, and not only oppose but prevent the influx of Western knowledge. While they remain in the seat of virtual power it is hard to see how the people can learn anything that pertains to modern progress.

The slowness with which information of political events, even any kind of public news, percolates into the interior of China, has often been remarked. Things happen of the utmost moment in one part of the Empire which ought to move the other parts of

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the Empire with anxiety. But they do not make this impression because they are not heard of for weeks, or months, or even years, or perhaps never become known at all. The excessive delay deadens the effect, and renders the people apathetic or unimpressionable.

Among the qualities vaguely attributed to these people there will probably be patriotism; they have indeed been spoken of as intensely patriotic. But patriotism may perhaps be a term used in more senses than one. If by patriotism is meant the feeling which a German has for the fatherland, or a Frenchman for *la patrie,* or a Briton for Queen and country, then by all accounts, and to all appearances, the Chinese have it not at all. If they ever had it in former centuries under famous Chinese dynasties of pure blood, like the Sungs and the Mings, they have never evinced it in the nineteenth century. On the contrary at least two typical instances tending in an opposite direction have been mentioned in the course of this narrative. But even if the masses and the classes be wanting in what Europeans would regard as patriotism, still there do seem to be some individual Chinamen who are truly patriotic. If, however, by patriotism is meant a close adherence to long established custom, a devout regard for tradition, a sense of exclusive superiority as against all other nations, then the Chinese are indeed patriotic, and no nationality at any time or place has surpassed them in this respect.

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It may be said that in so widely scattered a population as the Chinese, with so much difficulty of intercommunication, a patriotism in the European sense could hardly be expected. But in the flagrant instances of unpatriotic conduct above mentioned, distance and unacquaintance did not enter into these cases at all. On the contrary, the misconduct in each instance was on the part of one community towards a neighbouring community.

In reference to the religions, faith and practice of the Chinese, some Europeans will be enquiring what are the prospects of Christianity spreading in China. The remarkable history of the Roman Catholic Missions in previous centuries and of their shrinkage at the beginning of the nineteenth century, has been already set forth in the second Chapter of this Part. These missions have been maintained with devoted perseverance throughout this century, and will by degrees expand, very much in proportion with the several Protestant Missions, which have a much later beginning. With the fewest exceptions China was barred against the entrance of foreign Missions, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, till 1844, when Hong Kong was ceded to England and certain Treaty Ports were opened. But it was not till a long time after this date that the Missionaries were allowed to travel or dwell beyond the Treaty Ports at their own risk; and unhappy events have often shown how great this risk actually was. The following extract from Mr. Eugene Stock's short

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history of the Church Missionary Society in 1899 gives the most cheery and sanguine view of the case that can fairly be expected. He writes: "Then we go on to China. We remember how, when Victoria became Queen, the Chinese Empire was closed against all Western intruders, and how in the trading settlement at Canton alone were Morrison and his fellow-translators of the Bible able to live. And now? We sail from port to port; at each one we disembark and plunge hundreds of miles inland; and then we steam up the mighty Yang-tsze, and by-and-by reach even the far western provinces. Scarcely a province is without bands of Christian Missionaries and none without the Scripture in the vernacular; and although every province is so vast and so teeming with population that we find scores of towns and cities as yet unvisited, yet wherever the Gospel has gone we see its fruits, in congregations of Chinese believers who have had to bear, and are still bearing, reproach and often persecution for their Saviour's sake. China is not like India: we do not find the Church of England in the forefront; English non-episcopal missions, and some from America, are far stronger. Still, we gladly visit four dioceses, three of them closely associated with the Church Missionary Society; and in these we rejoice to see our brethren and sisters bravely at work. In the Fuh-Kiang and Che-Kiang Provinces especially, we journey for weeks, on foot or in sedan-chair, visiting village after village and not a few large towns,

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where Chinese Christians come out to meet us with their pleasant greeting. We note particularly the love and confidence that our Missionary ladies inspire in the women, and the blessed work done by the Medical Missions. We do not forget the violent deaths that some have had to face; but we see how, since they died, the people have been more ready than ever to hear of the Lord in whose cause their lives were laid down."

It may well be believed that the Christian Chinese, who must now be numbering many tens of thousands, are sincere in their faith and good in their conduct. The educational efforts made by the Missionaries in India and the vast numbers attending their schools are not at all paralleled in China, owing doubtless to all the circumstances of the State education under the Chinese Government. Those who have a general acquaintance with the East would hope that the Chinese masses if left to themselves might be converted to Christianity without much difficulty, especially as they have no priesthood and no religious bigots worth mentioning. Nevertheless the Chinese masses are not left to themselves in this matter; for the Mandarin officials and the *literati* are against Christianity, not because of its principles, which are manifestly good, but because of its professors, who carry with them that civilisation which lets light into all the corners of China. Their hatred has sometimes been called fanatical, but the fanaticism is social and political rather than religious. No

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experienced European would doubt that every European Missionary in China would at once be murdered, and every Missionary establishment razed to the ground, were it not for the fear of the European Powers on the sea-coast. Notwithstanding this fear the outrages, often murderous, on the Missionaries, women as well as men, are of chronic occurrence. Sometimes they have given to European Powers a handle, the very handle which the Chinese, if wise, should have avoided giving, for political interference. Advantage has not, however, been always taken in this way; one honourable instance to the contrary and of recent occurrence may be cited. After narrating the Ku-cheng massacre in 1895, when a Missionary, his wife, two children and their nurse, four ladies from London, and two from Australia, were killed, Mr. Eugene Stock, in his short History, writes: "A cry for vengeance arose, but not from the Missionaries or the Committee, who, while feeling bound not to interfere with the due course of justice, declined to appeal for the protection of British troops or to accept compensation from the Chinese Government. Instead of that a meeting was held in Exeter Hall (London), filled with sympathising friends, not to hear inflammatory speeches, but to praise the Lord for the dear ones departed in his faith and fear and to pray for China."

As often happens in such case, this tragedy gave a potent impulse to the Mission in the neighbourhood of Ku-cheng.

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Now if the Chinese people are so good-tempered and quiet as they seem to be, with minds more open and receptive to truth from without than is usually the case with Oriental nationalities, it may well be asked how these tragedies are to be accounted for. If dates be examined and compared, it will be found that in a particular year there has been an outburst, then for a while a lull, then a recrudescence, and so forth. The events have covered fully half a century, and in the outbreaks and the peaceful intervals a sort of periodicity has been established. This consideration gives renewed interest to the question as to the causation. There is one and only one cause, namely, the enmity of the official Mandarins and the *literati,* an enmity which is as bitter as the grave. When such instigators are in movement, there are always ruffians among the social dregs in China as in other countries who will fulfil the deadly behests. For every group of outrages let the political circumstances of that time be regarded and the same with the intervals of quiet. It will be found that these circumstances, from the Mandarins' point of view, favoured the commission of violence or else pointed to the expediency of keeping the peace. It is morally certain that every Missionary, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, who has within the latter half of the nineteenth century been either maltreated or killed might have been kept in safety or comfort had the local Mandarins willed it. Indeed he would never have been attacked at all if the Man-

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darins had not directly or indirectly ordered the proceedings.

Respecting the condition of China to-day, the book by Admiral Lord Charles Beresford, bearing the ominous title of *The Break-up of China,* claims prominent notice. He was deputed by the Associated Chambers of Commerce in England in 1898 to enquire into the question "whether the organisation of the Chinese civil and military administration is sufficiently complete to insure adequate protection to commercial ventures," and also "into any other subjects which could be of interest and advantage to the Associated Chambers." Accordingly he visited during the autumn of 1898 and the winter of 1898–99 all the European trading communities of China, and conversed with many of the principal people, political, military and naval, of the Chinese Empire, besides many commercial Chinese. In the spring of 1899 his Report was submitted to the Associated Chambers in London, and was soon afterwards published in the shape of the book above mentioned. This book, then, contains, besides the remarkably well-informed opinions of the writer, a mass of the best and latest evidence regarding the condition of China in 1899. Some brief summary at least of this evidence, then, must here be made. The maintenance of the Chinese Empire in anything like imperial integrity and dignity, being probably abandoned as impossible, it may yet be possible to hold the fabric together for a while, so that some policy,

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commercial or other, may be adopted for the whole. The British in Britain, fearing from all appearances that the vast structure may fall to pieces, perceive that in such event each European Power will have to establish its own sphere of influence and to prepare themselves for that event. In that case the British sphere would not be far to seek, for that would comprise the entire basin of the Yang-tsze-Kiang. But the British in China dislike excessively the prospect of any such event, and deprecate earnestly any word or action on the part of Britain which might hasten or facilitate its coming. The grand fact is that they have extensive and growing transactions in many other parts of China besides the Yang-tsze-Kiang valley, such as the valley of the West River which joins the sea near Canton, the delta of the Hoang Ho, the valley of the Peiho which flows past Tientsin, and even in Manchuria. For the present they would say that their commercial sphere is not here or there in China but everywhere. However important may be the sphere allotted to them they cannot abandon their existing long-established affairs in other spheres. And they fear that once the principle of "spheres" is acknowledged, then each European nation that obtains a sphere will impose hostile tariffs against them, the British. Consequently they strenuously and unanimously advocate the maintenance of the well-known principle of "the open door," whereby at least every Treaty Port shall be free to them as to every one else. It

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will certainly be contended that this principle cannot be abrogated as regards the Treaty Ports, at least without the consent of Britain. As these Ports comprise all the most important outlets for trade, they would contend that Britain must effectively object to any arrangements being made by any Foreign Power, through cordons of tariffs or transit duties inland, which would neutralise the value of British rights in the ports.

In all this they have the full concurrence and sympathy of the British in Britain. All men agree that the "door" should be kept "open" as long as possible, and the policy of "the spheres of influence" be delayed accordingly. But they ought not—indeed it appears from their utterances that they do not—shut their eyes to the possibility that the door may gradually become closed. If that should happen then the adoption of "spheres of influence" would become inevitable. Such an occurrence is sufficiently probable as to oblige the British to prepare for it. The preparation briefly consists in preventing any concessions or other obligations being entered into by the Chinese Government which would hamper or restrict the action of Britain respecting those regions that might naturally fall within her sphere. According to the reports embodied in Lord Charles Beresford's book, this sphere would embrace the valleys of the Yang-tsze-Kiang, and of the West River which runs into the Canton estuary. The object of this narrative is not to enter on con-

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troversial politics, but to expose the truth about China in 1899. No good can come from refraining to state things as they are. If, hypothetically, Russia were to make Manchuria a Russian Province, and the Germans were to do the same with the Hinterland of Kiaochow, and the French with the neighbourhood of Tonking, and if they were all to treat the ports therein situated as their own, then Britain would merely have to do something to counterbalance all this. She could certainly command the West River, the Yang-tsze-Kiang and the Peiho River at least up to Tientsin. She does not desire this, she earnestly deprecates it, but if forced into it by the acts of others, she would not come off worst in the partition of China.

Then Lord Charles Beresford's book teems with evidence of the paralysis of civil government, the want of police protection for property, the absence of any trustworthy system of justice whereby the rights of capital or of enterprise could be secured, and the consequent danger of any commercial venture being undertaken in the interior of the country outside the limits of the Treaty Ports, all which grievously obstructs the expansion of trade. In reference thereto, allusion is made not only to the want of defensive forces, as the Navy is now insignificant, barely able to keep down piracy, but also the absence of any inland forces, of any troops worthy of the name, and further to the insufficiency and inefficiency of the police. But there can be no

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revenue in the Imperial Treasury adequate for the expenses of the Empire, unless there is a decently good Civil Service. There can be no effective army and police unless there is money to pay for them. There can be no security for internal commerce, for enterprise and capital, without civil reforms as they are repeatedly called. The danger, too, which threatens commercial as well as other interests is acute and specific. Though there are no rebellions like that of the Taiping, yet just as that rebellion arose out of the sea of political troubles, so nowadays there are lesser disturbances really due to the general unsettlement following on the Japanese war, such as organised brigandage, wandering bandits, strange sects calling themselves by fantastic names, rapid gatherings of mobs, and the like. Each and all of these occurrences find the civil authorities in a pitiable light, and exhibit before the people the sorry spectacle of a Government which is little more than a name.

Setting aside the remnant of the navy, which is not worth spending money upon, and on account of which some considerable sums are wasted instead of being applied to more useful purposes, it is on all hands urged that the army could be reorganised and must be remodelled if internal order is to be preserved. Now it is easy enough to render small bodies of troops, a very few thousands here and there, quite efficient with European instruction, and this has to a small extent been done. But when it

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comes to something like an army of one hundred or two hundred thousand men, then any reformer would come in contact with deep-seated abuses very hard of removal. For example, a General is paid a certain sum for maintaining, say, ten thousand men: he keeps up one thousand only, and when the day of inspection comes round he collects the remainder as hirelings for the two or three days and puts them into line somehow. The inspector is of course quite aware of what is done. This ludicrous description is hardly an exaggeration of a system which has largely if not universally existed in the Chinese army. A signal instance of it is known to have occurred when the allied forces of England and France landed near the mouth of the Peiho in 1860. By Lord Charles Beresford's account the same plan still prevails. Now let any one acquainted with Oriental administration reflect on the manifold abuses deeply seated in Chinese society, which are involved herein, the hydra-headed corruption which is implied. Then it will be seen that the reorganisation of the Chinese army is impossible until some political convulsion shall throw up a *tabula rasa* on which reformers may work. The establishment of a police would not be so difficult, though it would require more money than the impoverished treasury could afford. But then the impoverishment arises from the want of civil reforms.

These reforms are spoken of by some critics and essayists as if they were matters of course, and

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things quite subordinate to the higher questions of national policy. But such is not at all the case; they are fundamentally important because without them there will be little money in the Treasury, and then without that resource no improvement in any branch can be made. Yet they are insuperably difficult of execution, because the old-established Chinese system necessitates misfeasance and renders it an indispensable evil. The secrets of the civil budget have never been penetrated, but it is tolerably certain that the amount of salaries, paid for an enormous Civil Service, is comparatively small. Having been appointed after a competitive examination and instructed in the moral code of Confucius, the men are straightway introduced to a world of corruption and a life of misfeasance. They have much power but little pay; they are to pay themselves by appropriating a part of the public revenues and by extortions from the taxpayer which reduce his taxpaying power. The system of evil is so complete that the process may be compared to the camels at the end of an Oriental march being turned loose to forage for themselves, or the cavalry horses in troubled times being let loose to feed on the green growing corn. The fortunes made by great officers of State, the wealth and possessions of the official hierarchy, the income of ordinary Mandarins far beyond its proper scale, are proverbial and notorious. Yet all this arises to the detriment of the Treasury and of all the economic interests in the country. Such

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a system, existing from time immemorial, lasting through many centuries, and appealing to the worst feelings of human nature, must require a long time for its eradication.

The Chinese Government steadily declines to publish any statement or budget of its receipts and expenditure, and well it may decline, for if it complied, the results would probably be as discreditable as they would be astonishing. The figures of receipts and expenditure, in the absence of official information, are given avowedly with only the vaguest approximation from Consular reports, as seen in the *Statesman's Yearbook* for 1899. The revenues of China are there set down at 89 millions of taels. Now the significance of this may be understood from some summary comparisons. The receipts of Japan as presented by regularly published budgets stand at 238 millions of yen.* Without undertaking to state exactly the difference in value between a tael and a yen, it may be said that one tael is not worth one yen and a half, and if so the Chinese 89 millions would be equal to near 140 millions, or much less than the Japanese total; yet the population of Japan may be 45 millions and the population of China (say 350 millions) eight or nine times as large. Again, take the receipts of British India (exclusive

* This total is from the last published return, and it seems to include some extraordinary receipts which may not recur. If this amount were deducted from Japan, then the comparison would be less unfavourable to China. But even then the disproportion between the two countries would be great.

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of the Native States) standing at 98 millions of tens of rupees, or 980 millions of rupees. Now one tael may be equal to nearly three rupees, or something less. So the 980 millions of rupees would be equal to about 340 millions of taels or nearly four times the Chinese total; though the Indian total comes from 230 millions of British subjects (exclusive of Native States) as against, say, 350 millions of the Chinese people. Owing to the fluctuations of silver, it is difficult to make an exact comparison, but enough has been stated approximately to show the monstrous disproportion of receipts as against China in comparison with either India or Japan. It may be that the Chinese have prevented Europeans from getting anywhere near the truth, or perhaps the Chinese may be regarded as more lightly taxed than any other Oriental nation, though nobody will believe that. The probable explanation is that the Chinese revenue largely remains in the hands of its collectors, and that only a portion of what is held to be due to the Imperial Treasury ever finds its way there. It follows that even if a completely honest Government according to British ideas be beyond hope, still a decently respectable administration would bring in a revenue four or five times as great as that which apparently is received at present. Meanwhile it appears that the Dowager Empress has fulminated an edict to the Civil Service about the deficient revenue.

But this result could be attained only by the in-

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troduction of the civil reforms to which allusion is often made. Now let any one who on principle justly advocates these reforms be pleased to reflect on the process by which alone they could be carried into practice. The introduction of such reforms is a different matter from the equipping of a fleet or the drilling of an army. In the first place a sweep, almost clean, would have to be made of all the present viceroys, provincial governors, and district officers who have throughout their official lives been fattening and battening on what, according to European ideas, belonged properly to the State and to the people. Then proper viceroys, for each group of provinces, say four for all China, eighteen governors for the old eighteen provinces, 180 district officers at an average of ten districts to a province, and the same number, 180, of police superintendents. All these officers would have to be men of status on high salaries, similar to those which are paid in India. Being legitimately well off, they would be placed beyond the reach of temptation. At the very outset there would be a great disbursement for civil salaries, something never dreamt of in Chinese annals. By Indian analogy about two millions of tens of rupees would be required for a strong police. This would be equal to five or six millions of taels. Thus the initial outlay would strain the poor Treasury. But with honesty beginning at the top, there would soon be increase of receipts. Then as the good administrators felt their strength, they

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would insist on fiscal honesty to the very bottom. Soon, in such a country as China, a magnificent revenue would come rolling in. Internal order would cause an influx of European capital into the interior, and the Chinese Government would gain the goodwill of the European traders from all Europe. Moreover the sums allotted for expenses would be for the first time in Chinese history fully applied to the proper purposes. Then the roads, now broken up, would be repaired, and the Grand Canal, now half dry, would begin to flow again. By degrees the Imperial Government would be placed in funds for all the objects of good government as understood at the end of the nineteenth century. Added to all this there would be the gigantic task of reforming the State education. Most of the existing instruction would have to be given up, the competition examinations modified, and the *literati,* as a class, so left as to gradually die out.

The reformation above outlined is indeed drastic, but nothing short of this would suffice to save China. Then let any well-informed person reflect how difficult, how well-nigh impossible it would be to carry this into effect!

That such reforms as these, though too good to hope for, are not wholly Utopian, is shown by the Imperial Maritime Customs which are truly described by Lord Charles Beresford as constituting "China's only honest asset." They have for many years been placed under an Englishman, Sir Robert

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Hart, and, being properly administered, have flourished accordingly.

But viewing things as they are, no person acquainted with the East would venture to hope that in the Chinese Utopia of to-day any such reforms could be carried into effect without a revolution in the Empire. It is supposed that the Emperor is in favour of reform. He has no issue and therefore his Empress is of no account politically. But the Dowager Empress Tsi Hsi, who has been mentioned in this narrative ever since 1860, possesses the power even over him; and she is thought to be hostile to reform. Lord Charles Beresford relates how he managed to save the life of one reformer, whose six companions had been sent to Peking for no other reason except that they were reformers, for execution by what he calls political murder. Then if a revolution is to occur, other consequences may supervene dragging with them all civil reforms and many other things besides, no man knows whither. Meanwhile the Chinese Empire, having gone already, China is drifting towards what looms on the horizon as dismemberment. She is like the Sick Man of the Far East. Men are wondering whether she will survive the nineteenth century, or if so, for how long. The only encouragement attainable is (as already indicated) derived from the experience that sometimes Sick Men, as, for example, Turkey, continue to prolong their existence.

From the concluding Observations in Lord Charles

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Beresford's work the following points may be taken. He writes: "In reviewing this Report, several points become apparent. 1. The anxiety of British merchants in China as to the security of capital already invested. 2. The immediate necessity for some assurance to be given to those who are willing to invest further capital. 3. That this existing sense of insecurity is due to the effete condition of the Chinese Government, its corruption and poverty; and to the continued riots, disturbances, and rebellions throughout the country. 4. That the rapidly advancing disintegration of the Chinese Empire is also due to the pressure of foreign claims, which she has no power either to resist or refuse; all this leading to the total internal collapse of authority. 5. The terrible prospect of a civil revolution, extending over an area as large as Europe amongst 400 millions of people, upon which catastrophe the thin line of European civilisation on the coast, and a few ships of war would have little or no effect. 6. The uncertainty as to what Government would follow, should the present dynasty fall, and our ignorance as to what policy any future Administration would adopt respecting the contracts and concessions made by the existing Tsung-li-Yamen."

Regarding the Chinese people is a passage in Lord Charles Beresford's book which may be cited in order to give them the benefit of the testimony in which he doubtless gives voice to the opinion of the British merchants on the Pacific coast. He writes:

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"If it be objected that China itself is effete and rotten, I reply that this is false. The traditional official system is corrupt, but the Chinese people are honest. The integrity of their merchants is known to every trader and banker in the East, and their word is as good as their bond. They have, too, a traditional and idolatrous respect for authority, and all they need is a good and honest authority."

Now this favourable testimony must not be carried beyond its proper limits, and it expressly refers to the trading classes, in respect to whom it will be fully accepted. But whether it is applicable to classes beyond those actually named is a question on which those acquainted with the East must reserve their judgment until further evidence be forthcoming. Professor Douglas says that Confucius himself was an adept in the art of make-believe. Certainly every student of Chinese history must admit that the art of make-believe is inherent in all the better classes, that is, the art of throwing a lovely veil over that which is unlovely, a righteous garb over that which is unrighteous, an honourable mantle over that which is dishonourable, a halo of magniloquence over that which is common. This habit must either extend to the humble classes, or at least affect their disposition, surrounding them with an atmosphere of unreality, very adverse to truthfulness. Whether they be truthful and honest or not, they are capable of things far better than any to which they have ever yet been accustomed.

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This narrative regarding China in the nineteenth century has been devoted to Chinese conditions whether of progress, of stagnation, or of decadence; and has not touched more than was absolutely necessary on the conduct, the prowess, or the proceedings of the British Government or of individual Britons. It is hoped that this Government will be found on impartial inquiry to have been always worthy of the highly civilised Nation on whose behalf it was acting, and that the individuals have been working in the way which has been pursued by their countrymen in all climes and in all emergencies. The names of Elgin first, then of Bowring, Davis, Hugh Gough, Rutherford Alcock, Parkes, Wade, Loch, Hope-Grant, Gordon, Robert Hart, though but slightly mentioned in this narrative, owing to particular circumstances, will be gratefully remembered by their countrymen when the full story of the British Empire in the Far East shall come to be written.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS

DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

IN INDIA, JAPAN AND CHINA.

YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1800.	Marquess Wellesley, Governor - General. Mahratta war. East India Company under charter of 1793. Virtually double standard, gold and silver.	Feudal system or Shogunate in the Tokugawa line. Ienari Shogun at Yedo. Mikado(Emperor) at Kyoto.	Chiaching, Emperor. Empire at its meridian. Industrial art still very fine, though past its zenith.
1801.	Mahratta complications. Alliance with Nizam.	Rule of Feudal chiefs Daimyos and their retainers, Samurais.	Discovery of grave official corruption.
1802.	Second Mahratta war.	Roman Catholic Christianity long stamped out.	Jesuit missions still tolerated.
1803.	Mahratta confederation broken. Delhi and the Gangetic Valley subdued.	Industrial art at great height.	Influence of Mandarins and "*literati*" immense.
1804.	British Empire formed on ruins of Mahratta Empire. Marquess Wellesley departs.	Exclusiveness absolutely maintained commercially and politically.	Unsound system of education prevalent. Forms of administration elaborate; but the reality most inefficient.
1805.	Marquess Cornwallis succeeds and dies. Peace party retrogression threatened.		Uneventful.
1806.	Sir George Barlow, temporary Governor-General. Meeting of Native Indian troops (Sepoys) near Madras.		
1807.	Earl of Minto, Governor - General, confirms the imperial policy.	Uneventful.	

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YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1808.	British territories being consolidated.	Happy in having no history.	
1809.	Protestant missionary effort developing,		
1810.		Feudal system beginning to decay.	First mission from Russia abortive.
1811.		Galotin, Russian envoy imprisoned.	
1812.	Earl of Moira, afterwards Marquess of Hastings, appointed to succeed Earl of Minto as Governor-General.		Growth of piracy at Formosa.
1815.	East India Company's trading monopoly abolished.	Dutch at Nagasaki, the only foreign traders admitted.	Trouble beginning with European traders at Canton.
1814.	Imperial policy resumed. War with the Gurkhas of Nepal.	Shutting itself in from the outer world.	Country remains under dominating influence of the Mandarins and the literati.
1815.	Peace victoriously concluded with Nepal.		
1816.	Preparations for reduction of the predatory Pindari power.	Armour medieval. Swords rusting, guns obsolete.	Lord Amherst's mission resultless. Letter from British King; haughty reply by Chinese Emperor.
1817.	The Pindari war successful. Uprising of the Mahratta Powers and final Mahratta war.		
1818.	The Mahrattas incorporated in British political system.		Poppy cultivation in China noticed.
1819.	British supremacy acknowledged by the Rajput States. Establishment of the enlarged British Empire.		Opium first recognised as article of trade.
1820.	Consolidation of British dominion.	Gradual enfeeblement of the Shogunate or feudal system.	Emperor Chiaching dies and is succeeded by Taokwang.
1821.			Trouble on the Mongolian Plateau.
1822.	Beginning of land settlements in North-Western Provinces.		

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YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1823.	Lord Amherst Governor-General.		Inundations in the valley of the Hoang-Ho, called "China's sorrow."
1824.	First Burmese war against King of Ava.		
1825.	War continued.		
1826.	Peace concluded. The province of Assam, and the coast districts ceded by the King of Ava.		
1827.	Empire established within limits not to be expanded for several years.		
1828.	Lord William Bentinck Governor-General.	Happy in having no history.	Imperial constitution growing gradually weaker.
1829.	Peaceful improvements throughout the Empire.		
1830.	Barbarous rites abolished.	But the old order of things preparing to pass away.	Army and Fleet antiquated.
1831.			Unfit to contend with any civilised power.
1832.			
1833.	East India Company's trading functions abolished—territorial position continued. Law commission, and Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay law member of Government of India.	Still no effect on Japanese exclusiveness.	Increasing trouble with European traders at Canton.
1834.	Small State of Coorg annexed. Penal Code in preparation.		Lord Napier's commercial mission to Canton.
1835.	Sir Charles (afterwards Lord) Metcalfe, Governor-General temporarily. Freedom of the press granted.	Asleep before a rude awakening.	Failure of the Mission, and death of Lord Napier at Macao.
1836.	Establishment of the silver standard and currency. Earl of Auckland, Governor-General.	Ienari, the Shogun, resigns in favour of his son Ieyoshi.	Taokwang, the Emperor, appoints Lin to be Commissioner at Canton.

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YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1837.		Ieyoshi, the Shogun, begins to rule. First attempt by an American vessel to trade.	Seizure of opium by Lin, and other acts of hostility.
1838.			
1839.	Expedition to Afghanistan—Candahar and Caubul occupied.		War between British and Chinese at Canton.
1840.	The British in Caubul and Candahar.	Feudal system growing weaker; arms, armament and discipline inefficient.	First war with the British. Appearance of British squadron for the first time in Pechilee gulf.
1841.	Afghan uprising at Caubul — hostilities in Afghanistan.		War continued in Yang-tsze valley, and Hong Kong ceded to the British. Commercial treaty with Britain.
1842.	First Afghan war concluded. Lord Ellenborough, Governor-General.		Commercial treaties with European powers and America. Treaty ports acknowledged.
1843.	Empire begins again to expand. Sind annexed.		
1844.	Sir Henry Hardinge, Governor-General.	Letter from King of Holland about trade.	Strained relations between British and Chinese at Canton.
1845.	Trouble arising among the Sikhs of the Panjab.		
1846.	First Sikh war, piece of the Panjab annexed.		
1847.		First attempt by British ship to trade.	
1848.	Earl, afterwards Marquess of Dalhousie, Governor - General. Uprising in the Panjab, and second Sikh war begun.	Similar attempts continued.	
1849.	War concluded, and the Panjab annexed.		Taiping rebellion beginning near Canton.
1850.	The Lawrence brothers administer the Panjab.		Taokwang, Emperor dies and is succeeded by Hsienfeng.

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YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1851.	Canals of irrigation undertaken.	Becoming apprehensive of repeated attempts of foreigners to trade.	Progress of Taiping rebellion.
1852.	Second Burmese war. Pegu with Rangoon annexed.		
1853.	Railways (Trunk lines) introduced.	Commodore Perry from America appears at Yedo, delivers President's letter and departs. Death of Shogun Ieyoshi, succeeded by Iesada.	Taiping rebels in possession of Yang-tsze valley.
1854.	Public instruction and education formally introduced.	Commodore Perry returns for answer, and Shogun Iesada signs preliminary treaty of commerce.	Taiping rebels moving toward Peking are repelled near Tien-tsin.
1855.		Similar treaties with European powers.	Are circumscribed in Yang-tsze valley.
1856.	Oudh annexed.	Treaty ports recognised.	Yeh, Viceroy of Canton. Affair of the lorcha vessel "Arrow." Beginning of war. Earl of Elgin despatched from Britain as Plenipotentiary.
1857.	Outbreak of Sepoy mutinies in India—revolt of native soldiery. Fall and recapture of Delhi. Grave crisis surmounted.	Iemochi (infant) becomes Shogun.	Earl of Elgin arrives with a force at Canton. Hostile action of Yeh, whereon Canton bombarded and Yeh taken prisoner.
1858.	Disturbances throughout India suppressed. East India Company abolished, and the Government of India taken over by the British Crown.	Shogun signs enlarged commercial treaties with the Powers.	Lord Elgin proceeds to Pechilee Gulf, takes Taku Forts at mouth of Peiho river, and proceeds to Tientsin. Treaty of Tientsin with improved provisions for commerce. Emperor agrees to receive British representative.
1859.	Military changes.	British legation at Yedo threatened.	British representative comes, but is stopped at the Taku Forts.

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YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1860.	Army reorganisation. Financial system (Budget) introduced after English model.	Increasing discontent and violence among feudal retainers.	Anglo-French expedition proceed to Peking, Emperor flies his capital and signs convention of peace. Summer Palace destroyed as a punishment.
1861.	Development of Protestant missionary enterprise. System of canal irrigation extended.	Kamon-no-Kami, the regent, murdered: first political assassination.	Death of Emperor Hsienfeng. Tungchih (an infant) becomes Emperor, under a Regency.
1862.	Earl of Elgin, Governor-General.		Final suppression of Taiping rebellion undertaken.
1863.	Military operations on North-West Frontier—peace restored. Death of Earl of Elgin.	The Feudal attempt to close the strait of Shimonoseki.	Gordon, called "Chinese," appointed to command Chinese forces against the rebels.
1864.	Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence appointed Governor-General. Hostilities with Bhutan, and Doars annexed.	Foreign representatives send Naval expedition to Shimonoseki Strait.	He extinguishes the rebellion.
1865.	System of public sanitation introduced.		Nienfei rebellion extinguished.
1866.		Emperor at Kyoto accepts the Commercial treaties made by the Shogun at Yedo.	
1867.	Marked progress of railways.	Iemochi, the Shogun, dies. End of the Shogunate or feudal system.	Great development of Protestant missions.
1868.		Accession of Mutsuhito, as Mikado or Emperor. Foreign representatives received for the first time at Imperial Court in Kyoto.	Progress of European trade, especially British at Hongkong and Shanghai.
1869.	Sir John Lawrence leaves India. The Earl of Mayo, Governor-General, meets Shere Ali Ameer of Caubul, and concludes arrangements with Afghanistan.	Provisional constitution and abolition of the feudal (Daimyo) system. Emperor takes charter oath.	

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YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1870.		Imperial seat of government moved from Kyoto to Yedo.	
1871.		Name of the capital changed to Tokyo.	Panthay rebellion in Yunnan. Rebellion near frontier of Mongolia—both Moslem.
1872.	Earl of Mayo assassinated. Lord North-Brook, Governor-General.	Deliberative assembly constituted but fails in practical effect.	Tungchih (Emperor) attains majority and is married.
1873.		Progressive party in Japan growing in activity.	Recapture of Talifoo in Yunnan by Imperialists.
1874.	Famine in Bengal and Behar. Principle settled that Famine-Relief should be fully undertaken by the state.		Mysterious death of Emperor Tungchih and of Empress Ahluta.
1875.	Prince of Wales visits India.		Kwanghsu (Emperor), infant, under Regency of the Dowager Empresses and of Prince Kung.
1876.	Lord Northbrook quits India. Lord Lytton, Governor-General.	Embers of old Feudalism smouldering.	Murder of Mr. Margary with complicity of Chinese officials. Chefoo convention for trade.
1877.	Imperial assemblage at Delhi, and Queen proclaimed Empress of the Empire of India. Famine in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay.	Satsuma rebellion under Saigo. Okubo murdered — second political assassination.	Severe famine.
1878.	Second Afghan war; peace concluded.		Expedition for recovery of Mongolian Plateau.
1879.	Recrudescence of trouble at Caubul.		Successful campaign in Yarkand and Kashgaria and general victory for Chinese troops in the Great Plateau.
1880.	Military operations in Southern Afghanistan. Lord Lytton quits India. Marquess of Ripon, Governor-General.	Consolidation of Emperor's position as a Constitutional Sovereign.	Progress of Christian Missions.

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YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1881.		Reorganisation of the country into boroughs and districts.	Treaty with Russia regarding Kuldjä in Central Asia.
1882.			
1883.		New Japan growing apace.	
1884.	Earl (afterwards Marquess) of Dufferin, Governor-General.	Christianity fully tolerated — Large development of missions.	Favourable point in fortunes of China before decadence rapidly sets in.
1885.	Third Burmese war, annexation of the Kingdom of Ava.		
1886.			Trouble with France in Tonking.
1887.	Progress of Christian missions. Queen's Jubilee celebrated.		Kwanghsu, Emperor, receives charge of the government from the Regent.
1888.	Marquess of Lansdowne, Governor-General.		
1889.	Completion of Railway system on North-West frontier up to border of Southern Afghanistan.	Full constitution with Imperial Diet established, and Mikado (Emperor) takes the oath. Electoral system fully introduced. Mori Arinori murdered, third political assassination.	Kwanghsu, Emperor, enthroned.
1890.		Promulgation of the Constitution. Army and Navy organised on modern system.	Naval stations established in Pechihlee Gulf at Port Arthur, Wei-hai-Wei. Army left unreformed.
1891.	Trouble beginning with France and Siam.		
1892.	Mints ordered to be closed against coinage of silver, owing to the extreme depreciation of the Rupee.		
1893.	Earl of Elgin, Governor-General. Closure of Mints taken effect.		Trouble in Korea and force despatched there.

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YEAR	INDIA.	JAPAN.	CHINA.
1894.	Joint Anglo-French guarantee of independence for Siam.	Force despatched to Korea—War breaks out with China.	War with Japan.
1895.		Successful by sea and land.	Naval stations of Port Arthur and Wei-hai-Wei lost, also Liao-tung Peninsula.
1896.	Outbreak of Plague and Famine.	Treaty of peace at Shimonoseki.	Peace treaty ratified.
1897.	Queen's Diamond Jubilee celebrated.	Retrocession of Liao-tung to China at instance of France and Russia with some support from Germany.	Aid of European powers invoked for first time by China. Kiaochow taken by Germany.
1898.	Troubles on North-West Frontier. War on Frontier successfully conducted.	Diet thanks Emperor for the manner in which he has directed the national forces by land and sea.	Port Arthur leased to Russia, and Wei-hai-Wei to Britain.
1899.	Lord Curzon of Kedleston, Governor-General.	Treaty Ports abolished, together with Consular jurisdiction: all ports thrown open.	Railway concessions to subjects of the several European powers.
1900.	Preparation for Gold Standard. Severe famine. Marked loyalty regarding War in South Africa.	Uneasiness regarding action of Russia near coast of Korea. Anxiety regarding possible interruption of trade with China.	Dowager Empress, virtual ruler. Internal troubles, hostility to reform. Anti-European rebellion and precautions by European Powers to guard their several interests at Peking.

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SUPPLEMENTARY.

THE BOXER MOVEMENT, 1900--1901.

THIS review of Chinese history in the Nineteenth Century had been carried on to 1899. I am now requested, early in 1901, to resume my pen for a while, and to present a summary of the striking events which have happened since the writing of the former chapters of this book.

In August, 1899, having traced the steps of China on the road to ruin all through the Nineteenth Century, I represented her as tossing about like a dismasted vessel on a sea of trouble, ready to sink at any moment, with lowering clouds around her. In fact at that very moment there were movements in secret progress which were known doubtless to many conspirators, though concealed with more or less success from the outer world, and which were destined within a few months to precipitate China into a danger more grave, a depression more profound, a crisis more acute than any she had ever undergone.

Like as in former chapters, I shall in this chapter use strictly historic materials. I shall adopt in part only the reports made by the many correspondents of the Press. I shall mainly rely on the Parliamentary Blue Books 3, 4, and 5 of 1900, on the report by

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the correspondent of the London *Times* published on the 15th and 16th of October, 1900, and subsequent date, and on Mr. Stanley Smith's *China from Within,* published in November, 1900, and quoting largely from the *North China Herald.* I have also to acknowledge advice obtained from Professor Douglas of the British Museum.

At the beginning of Chapter XXX. of my work, I had spoken of the present Emperor Kwanghsu as reigning rather than ruling, and as being under the domination of his aunt the Dowager Empress, who had been in effective power ever since 1860. The distribution of sovereignty between the aunt and the nephew is better known now than it was in the middle of 1899, and it should here be stated, as it lies at the bottom of the trouble which has astonished the world.

In the autumn of 1898 the Emperor, a man of thirty years of age, was ruling and had been so doing for some little time, though being childless he had not the full weight of authority. He had fallen under the influence of enlightened and patriotic Chinese, called the Reform Party, who, seeing the benefit which Japan had derived from adopting European civilisation, wished to do the same for China. Some of them went even further and proposed to adopt Christianity as a State religion. A memorial to this effect, together with the recommendation of other reforms upon the European model, was prepared for the Emperor. This was reported to the Dowager

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Empress, who, with furiously flashing eyes, denounced the traitors, put some of them to death, banished others, shut up the Emperor in close retirement and reassumed the reins of government. That she could do all this at the instant is a proof of the power possessed at the Capital, Peking, by the Reactionary Party, and of her influence over it. They indeed knew her to be the one of all others most after their own heart. But she did more then and there; she began an organisation of volunteers in town and country, patriotic men from her point of view, to be styled by a Chinese title which has been translated into English as Boxers. With the help of this she meant immediately to attempt the execution of a long-meditated design which was nothing less than the extermination of all Europeans in China, or at least their expulsion from the country, and the destruction of everything European within Chinese limits—that is, railways, telegraphs, houses and other property. The reality of a design so monstrous and wondrous as this might seem incredible, were it not historically proved to have been seriously entertained, to have been vigorously prosecuted, and to have been carried, in Peking at least, to a point not far short of accomplishment.

Besides many kinds of evidence there is the specific proof consisting in a long series of Edicts, sinister, malignant, truculent, issued during a course of many months, and couched in terms fearfully explicit. The Dowager Empress and her advisers, if

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cited before the bar of history and of the world, have the testimony of their own words against them given under the imperial hand and seal. About the Court the Tartar Manchus, as immediate adherents of the Manchu dynasty, were the more fierce and blood-thirsty; the Chinese proper were generally milder and more inclined to reasonable counsels.

The main faults alleged against the European States in these Edicts are earth-hunger and tiger-like voracity for eating up China piece by piece. Religion, that is the propagation of Christianity, is alluded to but indirectly, and that in connection with the alienation of the Chinese from national customs and their subjection to foreign ideals. Respecting the territorial allegation it could hardly be meant for the acquisitions actually made by Europeans which were either seaports like Port Arthur, Wei-hai-Wei, or an island like Hong Kong not much thought of by Chinese, or some commercial concessions which were strips. It related rather in all probability to the discussions which were going on regarding the possible rearrangement of the country into spheres of influence as between the several European Powers, whence arose the ominous phrase, "the partition of China."

Whatever may have been the potency of these motives, the impelling motive was this, the determined exclusiveness which was founded in pride and ignorance which had been cherished at heart since the time of Confucius, which engendered an utter in-

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tolerance towards white people and which steeled the Chinese heart against European influence.

While thus declaring a fanatical hatred of all European thoughts and things, the Dowager Empress and her advisers were importing European armament and ammunition at great cost and on a vast scale into China, Krupp and Creusot guns, and Mauser rifles, to be used of course against Europeans. They were instructing and drilling select bodies of Chinese troops in the use of these weapons. This was done with as much secrecy as possible; and experience has shown in other parts of the world that arms and guns can be imported under concealment and disguise without any special suspicion being aroused. Certainly China was known in 1899 to possess such things, but not at all to the extent to which she was found in possession of them by the beginning of 1900. To denounce and forbid the use of all European things, while using the most potent of those things, accords with the inconsistency and insincerity which the Chinese have exhibited from time to time all through the Nineteenth Century. Indeed they are impervious to prickings of conscience in this respect.

Toward the end of 1899 the Boxers rose up in small bands all over the country; but their chief, perhaps central, quarter seemed to be the Province of Shantung, or the territory between the British Wei-hai-Wei and the German Kiao-Chow. They were at first falsely represented as rebels by the

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Chinese Government through its several Embassies in Europe. Originally there may have been doubt among the European community in China as to their real character, as irregular bodies of this sort are but too well known to Chinese history. Before the end of 1899 the truth became self-evident. The Boxers were no rebels; they were under the patronage of the Dowager Empress, and in fraternity with the Imperial troops; they were the volunteer and reserve forces of the country, organised for a particular service and a deadly purpose.

The first blood was drawn in the last days of December, 1899, by the murder of Mr. Brooks, an English missionary in Shantung. The Dowager Empress' Government pretended through its ambassador in London to have punished the murderers, while the local Governor who had ordered—or at least countenanced, the murder was promoted to another province. After the beginning of 1900, events followed fast and furious. The railways which had extended from the head of the Pechilee Gulf to Peking, and to the head of the Liaotung Gulf near Newchwang, were destroyed. Still more determined efforts were put forth against the Russians in Manchuria. The Russian railways and stations, then in course of construction, were threatened or destroyed, and the attacks were advanced right up to the Russian frontier on the Amur. At one time hardly anything Russian remained in Manchuria except Port Arthur. Christian churches, schools,

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colleges and stations, Roman Catholic and Protestant, in the Provinces of Shantung, of Pechilee (which is the imperial or metropolitan province round about the capital Peking), and of Honan, just to the south, were attacked or destroyed but for the most part the missionaries and their families, together with their very numerous converts, escaped with their lives after many hairbreadth adventures and many devoted exertions, inasmuch as places of refuge and safety were near at hand and accessible. It was sadly different with the Province of Shansi, embosomed in hills to the west of Peking and in a certain sense off the lines of communication. It was full of Protestant missions, largely American, all very successful, with numerous bodies of Chinese adherents and converts. It had been regarded as one of the most happy and peaceful parts of China. In the summer of 1900 the Boxers appeared there, and under the directions of the Governor, murdered most of the missionaries and a great number of their converts.

These deeds in the northern provinces, as above mentioned, near Peking were perpetrated under express Edicts of the Dowager Empress. Copies of the same Edicts were circulated in the middle provinces, that is the Yang-tsze-Kiang valley behind Shanghai, and in the southern provinces behind Hong Kong and around Canton. But there the Viceroys and the provincial Governors stood firm, and forbore to carry out their atrocious instruc-

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tions. Public anxiety there was indeed, also distressful anticipation among the European communities. Boxers were moving about in parties, though not in organised bands as in the northern provinces. If here and there they attempted to rise suppression promptly followed. The wolf was coming, coming, and his dread bark was often heard, but he never came. All this is noteworthy as showing that, after all, the local authorities in China can answer for order when they have a mind to do so.

Having done all the harm possible in the northern provinces and witnessed the failure of the attempts at mischief in the middle and southern provinces, the Dowager Empress nerved and braced herself for a crowning effort in the capital, Peking itself. The object of this effort was to bombard, overrun and stamp out the several Embassies of the European Powers, acts which must necessarily involve the murder of the several Ambassadors, Ministers, staff officers, families, servants and Chinese Christians or other native adherents. This was no mere idea, but a project practically and energetically compassed. Such an outrage on civilisation would hardly have been conceivable. But in matters relating to the comity of nations China never has been, and is not, civilised.

Before giving the fatal and irrevocable orders on June 16 (1900), the Dowager Empress held a grand Council of her Manchu and Chinese Grandees, herself virtually presiding. The miserable Emperor was present. He tried to say a word for reasonable-

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ness and forbearance, but she silenced him. The Chinese Members pleaded in the same sense with firmness and prudence, she looking daggers at them all the while. Then the Manchus drowned the voices, so supporting their mistress. Thus the fiat went forth at once for that which will be known in all time coming as the Siege of the Peking Legations. It is understood that as the Council broke up the abject Emperor flung himself at the Empress' feet, seized the hem of her robe and passionately pleaded for forbearance while yet there was time, to avert the destruction that must ensue to the dynasty and to the nation. But she withdrew her robe, turned her back on him, saying, "What can a boy like the Emperor know about these things." If this scene has been truly reported, as may well be the case, then it is one of the weirdest even in the history of China. Immediately began the investment and bombardment of all the European Legations which were situated in the same quarter of the city.

Meanwhile the European Powers and the United States had been busy. It would hardly be just to say that they were taken by surprise; but certainly the storm burst upon them unprepared. Britain had, indeed, powerful squadrons in Chinese waters; other Powers had squadrons also. But sea-forces could not act in the threatened areas inland, and no Power had any land forces at hand available, except Russia. But then the Russian troops at hand were fully occupied with fighting their own battle in Man-

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churia. The British sent for fifteen thousand troops from India, but they could not arrive for some little time. Japan had forces nearer at hand, but there was some hesitation in accepting her aid. Still that difficulty was soon overcome. In the main the allied troops must come from Europe. Fortunately the understanding between the Powers was good; there must be some generalissimo, so Germany proposed and the Powers accepted Field Marshal Count von Waldersee in that capacity. Thus there was a Concert of Europe and the United States; the object being to restore order, to put down all disturbers, to exact reparation, to provide security for the future, and all this without attempting the partition of China and without seeking advantage for any Power in particular.

The point of danger was seen to be Peking itself, and Britain was the first in the field with a strenuous effort for its relief. Admiral Seymour, with a small force of blue-jackets and marines, reached Tientsin, half-way between the sea and Peking, and had even advanced a good distance farther towards the capital, but was prevented by vastly superior force from proceeding farther. So the relief of the beleaguered Legations was unavoidably postponed. Soon the Allied forces came up, and after considerable fighting took Tientsin. The Chinese guns were of long range and excellently served; the Chinese infantry fired their rifles well; all which showed that their training and discipline had been carried

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out in earnest. Then the combined forces marched on Peking.

Meanwhile the siege of the Legations had been going on for eight weeks in the height of summer. The concentration of the garrison was in the British Legations, as being the largest. The heroic story has been told in burning, undying words by Dr. Morrison, correspondent of the London *Times*, and confirmed by Sir Claude Macdonald. None can say who did the best when all did superbly well,—a little garrison, a very few hundred soldiers, a very few hundred civilians all white people, a very few thousand native Chinese adherents—European, American, clergy, laity, Roman Catholic, Protestant, white folk, coloured folk, men, women. They were constantly bombarded by guns of long range worked and manned by Chinese artillerymen under command of high Chinese officers who were clearly recognised and often under the eye of the Dowager Empress herself. There were many casualties and some victims of distinction, foremost among these being Baron von Ketteler, the German Minister. All this time the Imperial Government kept up a show of diplomacy: conciliatory words were uttered by the Chinese Ambassadors in Europe; friendly messages were sent to the Ministry in the Legations in their stress and duress, and one day in the very height of the siege a present of fruit was offered. In such wise do the Chinese ever try to throw a gauze veil over the mailed fist. The bombardment was con-

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ducted skilfully enough; but no disposition was shown to storm by assault, and the Chinese troops showed generally the cowardice and ineptitude that might have been expected. The French Minister has pointed out the mistakes they made; indeed, it is hardly too much to say that, had they done anything but what they did, the little garrison must have been overwhelmed. At length the Allies effected a relief about the 14th of August; the British happened to be earliest to enter; and the first to succour the Allied garrison were Indian troops of the Rajput Regiment. The Dowager Empress fled the city disguised as a common woman in a country cart; whether she will ever return must depend on the mercy of the Allied Powers.

After a short breathing time the Concert of Europe and the United States began to consider how a settlement of China could be arranged and with whom any terms of peace could be concluded. The railways to the coast were repaired so far as that could be done in haste; Tientsin and other intermediate points between the capital and the coast were strongly held; the capital itself, Peking, was held by an allied force of over fifty thousand men. The Imperial Court was found to have fled to Singanfu, a historic place not far from the Mongolian frontier and some hundreds of miles from Peking. One or two Princes of comparatively fair character were sent to represent it in the allied camp. Li Hung Chang, a man already known to history, was ap-

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